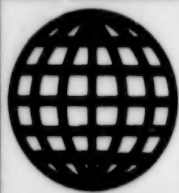


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JPRS Report

Near East & South Asia

Near East & South Asia

JPRS-NEA-91-003

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EGYPT

Al-Jama'ah al-Islamiyah, Shaykh 'Abd-al-Rahman Profiled

91AA0087A Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic
5 Nov 90 pp 4-7

[Article by Karam Jabar]

[Excerpt] It seems that the security agencies are firmly determined that the incident [of the murder of] Dr. Raf'at al-Mahjub will be the last chapter in the black file on terrorism. Interior Minister Major General Muhammad 'Abd-al-Halim Musa asserted as much in stating, "We will not be satisfied this time with disinfected the abscess. Rather, we will squeeze out Umm al-Qayh [the designation given below to military wings emanating from the Jihad Organization]."

Maj. Gen. Musa emphasized that he will leave his post if he does not succeed in uprooting the organization because the incident of 12 October has uncovered dangerous terrorism cells, which have crept under society's skin and afflicted it with many abscesses.

Before the area of danger expands further, this must be the last time, lest we be surprised subsequently with the fall of a new victim.

Will the minister succeed in tearing out the roots, or...?
[passage omitted]

Samiramis Safwat 'Abd-al-Ghani, commander of the military wing of the Jihad Organization, who carried out the Zaki Badr operation, was in charge of planning the operation, whose implementation was supervised by Mamduh 'Ali Yusuf and two others, Muhammad al-Najjar and 'Adil Muslim.

This group is considered among the most active elements in the second file of the Jihad Organization following the sentencing of elements of the first file after the events of 1981. The Jihad Organization considers it "the most effective presence among the Islamic currents on the scene."

Preparing the Stage

A report entitled "The Collective Eradication Plan to Which the Mujahidin in the Liman Turah Prison Are Subjected," issued by al-Jama'ah al-Islamiyah two months before the al-Mahjub incident, states that "this group is unique in its abilities and capabilities. Its members bring together high-level capabilities in various legal, military, ideological, political, and organizational fields. Its organizational capabilities can be ascertained by its ability, over a three-year period, to produce a leadership cadre that has been able to recover the positions which the group lost in 1981, attain a high rate of diffusion in all governorates, and direct organized activity under difficult circumstances."

This group has also been able to publish a stream of organizational publications to regulate the rhythm of other cells in other areas of the republic. These publications include the "Islamic Action Covenant," "The Islamic Movement and Party Work," "The Necessity of Confrontation," "The Prosecution of Democracy," "The Prosecution of the Political Regime in Egypt," "Egypt, America, and the Islamic Movement," and "We and the [Muslim] Brothers."

The most recent publication issued by the group spoke about the so-called "collective eradication plan to which the mujahidin in the Liman Turah Prison are subjected." It states that, in response to what the prisoners were subjected to, the group undertook revenge actions such as the Molotov cocktail attacks against several police departments in the Shubra area and a plan to assassinate several prison officers at the Liman Turah Prison, in the forefront of whom are "Nabil 'Uthman, Safwat Jamal-al-Din, Muhammad 'Awd, Faruq al-Shafi'i, and Mustafa Lutfi."

In order to finish "Operation Preparing the Stage," create a new round of anarchy, and plot the assassination of several political and ideological leaders who adopted a harsh position on the Jihad after the al-Minya and al-Fayyum incidents, Dr. 'Ala' Muhyi-al-Din, the number two person in the organization after Dr. 'Umar 'Abd-al-Rahman, intensified his efforts to rekindle the fire of factional discord before he met his death in the form of three anonymous bullets. Dr. 'Ala', in a publication which he wrote in his own handwriting, threatened [the use of] the fighting force of Jihad. He stressed that al-Jama'ah is resolved to continue on its path, and that "it will not retreat from defending honor and that which is holy, nor from opposing immorality and forbidden actions, regardless of the sacrifices which that will cost us."

Three days after his death, he stood before the al-Ayman Mosque in Imbabah, screaming "revenge, revenge, revenge" at worshippers. A lawyer belonging to al-Jihad wrote in a party newspaper that "the government killed him...revenge...revenge...revenge." All evidence has confirmed that the organization had begun to prepare its force for new bloody revenge operations against the government. It had targeted the interior minister. By pure coincidence, Dr. Mahjub was the victim.

The Roots!

All of the terrorist groups lead to violence, assassination, and bloodshed because "an Islamic society can only be built on the rubble of disbelief and ignorance."

Abul Ala Mawdoodi of Pakistan propagated this bloody principle, Sayyid Qutub of Egypt imported it, Salih Saryyah was guided by it in the Military Academy Operation, and Shukri Mustafa implemented it by assassinating Shaykh al-Dhahabi. The Jihad has embraced this principle, from the al-Minassah incident [the assassination of President al-Sadat] in 1981 to the Samiramis incident in 1990.

When the founder of the al-Takfir wa al-Hijrah [Repudiation and Renunciation] Organization, an Azhar student named 'Ali 'Abduh Isma'il, decided to leave his extremist organization, which advocated retreat from and renunciation of society, telling his followers that he was doffing the "idea of al-Takfir [repudiation] as I would doff my jilbab [long, flowing, outer garment]," another youth, Shukri Mustafa, rebelled against him and assumed independent leadership of the organization after they got out of prison in 1970.

Shukri and his group continued operating underground until 1977 when Shukri decided to break the barrier of silence and isolation and issue his formal legal opinion in favor of killing Dr. Husayn al-Dhahabi. He executed the judgment without hesitation because al-Dhahabi is "a disbeliever who deserves to be killed, and I swear an oath to pronounce judgment on that which God has not granted to the ministry's portion."

Despite the occurrence of another frightening incident two years before that, when Salih Sariyah and his group attempted the military academy assault, no one thought to grab onto the covert lines linking Shukri and Sariyah.

That could be attributed to the fact that Sariyah is not Egyptian but Palestinian. Sariyah commanded a political assassination group in Iraq. After obtaining Iraqi citizenship he came to Egypt attached to the UNESCO administration. However he believed that "the government in all Islamic states, including Egypt, is disbelieving; whoever accepts and supports this reality is a believer, and whoever rejects it and strives to change it is a believer."

Therefore, the objective behind the Military Academy Operation is "to capture weapons, vehicles, and equipment to kill President al-Sadat and to establish an Islamic caliphate in Egypt." Shukri outlawed al-Dhahabi, because "he is a disbeliever and is working in a disbelieving government." True, the execution of the two led to the wilting and end of the al-Takfir wa al-Hijrah group and the Islamic Liberation Party. However the earlier formal legal opinions were renewed with new wording, and the terrorists began to form military wings tasked with carrying out combat missions.

The eighties began with a new method, following the phase of naivete and simplicity represented by Shukri and Sariyah. Public opinion was surprised by the appearance of a strong, armed organization called by its members "al-Jama'ah al-Islamiyah," which is known in public circles as al-Jihad.

It is noteworthy that all of the terrorist organizations branch out from this current and flow in the same conduit. It is difficult to define the lines separating the branches which emanate from under the mantle of the mother organization or which unite under its banner.

The term "Salafis" for example, has come to refer in customary usage to a negative, political, religious opposition that does not use force, because the Salafis believe

that they are unable to confront "authority or an ignorant society." They stand at the borders of the heart, not crossing to the hand and the tongue.

Jihad and al-Jama'ah al-Islamiyah are two different faces of a single organization. They participated jointly in the assassination of President al-Sadat. However, several slight differences between the two wings have appeared in scattered incidents:

The Jihadists believe that all of the principles of Islam can only be achieved through combat. Accordingly, it is foolish to waste time on missionary activity, education, and the expansion of bases of diffusion. They would rather rely on the infiltration of organized elements who, if necessary, could shave their beards and wear jeans, as actually happened in the al-Mahjub affair.

Al-Jama'ah al-Islamiyah, on the other hand, believes that violence, such as secret operations to attack concerts, break into theaters and exhibition halls, tear up movie posters, and attack students holding divergent views, can be a legitimate means of a jihad, but only to remove pressures that impede the call to Islam.

Umm al-Qayh!

This is part of al-Qayh. The mission of al-Qayh's era is not limited to the interior minister alone. Umm-al-Qayh comprises the military wings emanating from the al-Jihad Organization like the tentacles of an octopus. From time to time they are tasked with carrying out dreadful assassinations. Al-Sadat and al-Mahjub became its victims. Hasan Abu-Basha tasted its bitterness. Fate saved al-Nabawi Isma'il, Makram Muhammad Ahmad, and 'Abd-al-Halim Musa. The formal legal opinion in favor of killing Najib Mahfuz was not carried out. These cluster cells, which are deeply embedded within Egyptian society, embrace shocking ideas whose meaning is that it is necessary to use force, violence, and physical liquidation because the jihad, in the doctrine of these cells, is a permanent, ongoing religious obligation, according to a statement made by Muhammad 'Abd-al-Salam Faraj, the person responsible for al-Sadat's assassination.

These cells are not concerned with the outcome of such a doctrine because that outcome is either martyrdom and entry into paradise or the destruction of the pillars and the razing of an ignorant, disbelieving society.

Accordingly they reject the [Muslim] Brothers' method of concluding a truce, and they do not recognize the existing political system, the parties, democracy, or parliament based on their goal of destroying the disbelieving state instead of helping to build it.

Therefore, they have inherited the slogan and the model of the al-Takfir wa al-Hijrah Organization. However they disagree with its method, which is to behave arrogantly toward and renounce society in the hope of returning to it in a phase of power to establish an Islamic state. That method, they believe, is mere delusion,

dreams, and fantasies, which will not be realized because the only way is immediate, rapid combat, not postponement and flight.

The most dangerous aspect in this matter is that the leaders of the Jihad Organization believe that the demand to restore the Islamic caliphate will be realized only through Egypt because Egypt represents, simultaneously, a point of concentration and a point of departure.

That aspect clearly roused Tariq al-Zamr, who writes the following in a booklet issued by the al-Jama'ah al-Islamiyah entitled "Philosophy of Confrontation": "One looking at the current reality of the world with a view toward defining a place that can be adopted as a starting point for Islamic change, a pivot for the confrontation, and a center from which to begin the future, will find no better place than Egypt. The completion of a triangle formed by Egypt, Iran, Afghanistan, in the event of coordination between them, will guarantee the undermining of conditions and regimes at the regional level."

The gist of this statement: "The arrival of Salih Sariyah in Egypt to attempt to [generate] change indicates his profound awareness of the importance of adopting Egypt as the center for the initial confrontation. It also testifies to Egypt being an antecedent to Palestine for anyone wishing to liberate Palestine because Egypt is the cornerstone if we want to liberate the entire region."

Therefore, the Islamic vision of the confrontation is based on the "need to remove all pagan leaders from the leadership of mankind and to declare a war on the corruption that is worsening in societies at the expense of mankind."

The preceding clearly shows that the terrorist groups that 'Abd-al-Nasir buried alive in the sixties reared their heads again in the mid-seventies—more powerful, more organized, more widespread, and more bloody.

In an epistle of faith issued by Salih Sariyah, it is stated that "a jihad to change these governments is an obligation of every Muslim."

In the prayer for the deceased buried previously for Muhammad 'Abd-al-Salam Faraj, it is stated that "the idols of this land will be removed only by the force of the sword."

And in the confessions of the leaders of al-Najun min al-Nar [Saved From Hell], who were arrested in 1987 after an attempt to murder al-Nabawi, Abu-Basha, and Makram Muhammad Ahmad, it is stated that "Egypt is in the domain of war, not in the domain of peace, even though most of its inhabitants are Muslims."

In the Islamic Action Covenant drafted by 'Isam-al-Din Dirbalah, 'Asim 'Abd-al-Majid, and Najih Ibrahim, it is stated that, "Our way is the call, the promotion of virtue, the suppression of vice, and the jihad in the service of God through a disciplined group that acts according to

the true revelation, rejects hypocrisy and dependence, and absorbs the experiences of the past."

The question here is: Can all of these cells and organizations operate without a plotting mind and a controlling commander?

A New Khomeini!

Maj. Gen. Muhammad 'Abd-al-Halim Musa has noted that money began to flow in a big way to members of the extremist groups after Dr. 'Umar 'Abd-al-Rahman travelled from Egypt to Sudan last Ramadan, then to Afghanistan and Pakistan. It is frequently mentioned that he visited Iraq and met with Saddam Husayn, and he finally set up residence in America.

The question is: Has 'Umar 'Abd-al-Rahman become a new Khomeini living in voluntary exile and leading the revolution in Egypt through cassette tapes and the collection of contributions for the revolutionaries?

According to unconfirmed information that is actually what happened; several tapes arrived in Egypt and were distributed on a limited scale among members of the Jihad. Other confirmed information states that the brother of one of the defendants in the al-Sadat case is supervising the organization's foreign wing in Afghanistan, where he is in charge of collecting funds and sending them to Egypt and supervising the combat training of individuals sent by al-Jama'ah [al-Islamiyah] to fight in Afghanistan.

Shaykh 'Umar is considered one of the most important ideological leaders in the Jihad Organization. He issued the famous formal opinion that deemed President al-Sadat "a ruler who is not in accord with God's revelation and consequently a disbeliever who must be deposed." However the Supreme State Security Court acquitted him because it was not certain of the accusations made by other defendants and witnesses for the prosecution, and because he did not have free will when he was investigated.

Shaykh 'Umar was born in May 1938 in al-Jamaliyah, in the provincial subdivision of al-Manzalah, al-Daqahliyah. He graduated from the College of Religious Principles in Cairo and was appointed imam of the mosque of the village of Fidimin in al-Fayyum. At that time, in September 1970, he issued his famous formal legal opinion, which stated that 'Abd-al-Nasir was a disbeliever and that it is not permitted to pray over his body.

He obtained his doctorate in 1972, then worked at the College of Religious Principles in Asyut in 1977. He traveled to Riyadh to work in the Girl's College, returning in 1980. His arrest was sought in connection with the events of September 1981. However he continued fleeing until his arrest following the al-Minassah incident.

The formal legal opinions of Shaykh 'Umar have been marked by extreme violence and combat to elevate

God's word on the earth and establish his path, which serves to protect believers if they deviate from their religion or are overwhelmed by error and corruption. He adds: "The rise must become a flood, the dams must collapse, the monkeys must be drowned by the wave and the pile. Then shall you send down Koranic chapters in the jihad and make heard the rumbling of verses, followed by the crack of weapons; and you shall smite bad action with bad action and remedy perfidy with castigation, pouring out vengeance on the venal who shall be thrashed to arouse fear in the heart."

The preceding is a sample of the abscesses that have afflicted society's body, threatening it with the rise, the wave, the pile, the crack of weapons, and fear in the heart. Will the interior minister succeed in uprooting terror?

Judges Demand Police Protection From Public Attacks

91AA0072B Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 27 Oct 90 p 6

[Article by Ahmad Radi: "Defendants' Kinsmen Storm Courts to Attack Judges; Counselors Demand Formation of Judiciary Police to Protect Courts"]

[Text] The judiciary are in danger. In the wake of the two attacks on a committee of judges last week, it is required to secure enough protection for men of the judiciary so that the scales of justice they hold may not become unbalanced. Counselors stress that it is necessary to establish a judiciary police which is controlled by the Ministry of Justice and in which officers receive their orders from court presidents directly. AL-WAFD has interviewed a number of counselors and recorded their demands. But to begin, we will review a number of attacks to which the judiciary have been subjected.

Last week, a group of people stormed a court lobby, and one of them attacked the court president after he had sentenced one of their relatives. On the day following this regrettable incident, the North Cairo Court witnessed a strange assault. Twelve individuals stormed the deliberation chamber, beat the court doorman, and tried to attack the judges forming the court after they had issued a decision sentencing a drug trafficker to a six-year prison term. The attacks have not been confined to the persons of the judges but have extended to smashing their cars and to threatening them by phone.

The two incidents reveal the deterioration of security in the judiciary courts. This causes judges to feel concerned when they utter their decisions. Another incident took place in 1985 when a criminal infiltrated the judges' relaxation chamber in Abu-Tayj Court in Asyut and murdered a judge while he was asleep. The perpetrator was hanged.

Counselor Muhammad Husni 'Abd-al-Latif, the president of al-Jizah Criminal Court, and counselors Kamil 'Ammar and Kamal-al-Din Sa'idah were also subjected

to an attack two years ago upon leaving the court. The former minister of interior issued a decision for the arrest of the defendants.

In order that such regrettable incidents may not recur in the future, we have interviewed a number of judges to find out what their demands are so that the halls of justice may not crack and so that the judiciary podium may not be shaken. Counselor Dr. Muhammad Husni 'Abd-al-Latif, the president of al-Jizah Higher State Security Court, has said: We need a study and an analysis from the researchers at the National Center for Social and Criminal Studies because these incidents have been recurring in a fearful manner. Dr. Husni 'Abd-al-Latif asked: Why have these people dared attack the sanctity of the judiciary, and how could they permit themselves to even think of attacking judges, keeping in mind that a judge does not carry the guilt of the sentence. He demanded that this issue be tackled at the highest levels, that the information media contribute to strengthening the public's sympathy for judges, and that penalties for crimes to which judges are exposed, especially when the court is in session, be stiffened. Counselor Husni 'Abd-al-Latif has also urged the legislature to pass a law to establish judiciary police under the control of the Ministry of Justice to be devoted to protecting the security of the courts and of members of the judiciary authorities, as is the case in most European countries.

Counselor Sa'id al-'Ashmawi, the president of Cairo's Higher State Security Court, has demanded that the guard provided to the court be bolstered, that the penalties, especially in this period, be stiffened, and that judges be surrounded by a strong security wall because an attack on a court or a court member is an act that poses a threat to the law and to the entire judiciary authority and that affects the judiciary function negatively, not to mention the extreme pain it inflicts on the judges—a pain from which they do not recover easily. Counselor Sa'id al-'Ashmawi added that he had previously called for establishing judiciary police who specialize in court security and who take their orders from court presidents or judges. He appealed for a serious study of this issue at present because it has become an urgent need in the wake of the recurrence of regrettable incidents. Al-'Ashmawi noted a serious point, namely that the extra work with which the police agency is saddled at times, may motivate the security authorities to reduce the number of policemen in the courts, thus causing anxiety, especially since a court is the place where foes meet face to face and where the law is embodied in a decision with legal force.

Counselor Sa'd Abu-al-Futuh Shalabi, president of al-Jizah Criminal Court, supports the demand for establishing a judiciary police concerned with court security to protect members of the judiciary authority from any attacks that may be perpetrated while the court is in session or even after a decision is pronounced for major crimes.

Mahmud 'Abd-al-Hamid, a judge at the South Cairo Court, insists on the demand made by his judiciary authority colleagues, for the prompt issuance of a law forming a judiciary police. He has also demanded coordination among the Judges Club, the Supreme Judiciary Council, and the minister of justice to hold periodic meetings to discuss such attacks on the judges while in the performance of their duty or after they leave the courts peacefully.

Opposition Leader Interviewed on Iraq, Elections

91AA0095A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic
14 Nov 90 p 7

[Interview with Ibrahim Shukri by Sami Kamal and Khalid Ramadan in Cairo: "We Condemn Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait, But Want Peaceful Solution"; first six paragraphs are AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT introduction; date not given]

[Text] The Egyptian Socialist Labor Party [SLP] leader, Engineer Ibrahim Shukri, stressed that his party condemns the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and did not want to leave any doubt about that. He made it clear that any attempts to find a justification for the aggression against and the invasion of Kuwait are inconsistent with the Labor Party's principles that do not sanction aggression against neighbors and oppression of the weak by the strong.

He said that this has been the SLP's position since the crisis began, for it condemned the aggression but called for endeavors to find a peaceful solution and to stop beating the war drums. He also said "that Israel is taking advantage of the current situation by bringing in thousands of Soviet immigrants and millions of dollars that have been pouring in from the United States and it is in its interest now to annihilate every Arab or Islamic force. This is our main concern at this point."

He added that he would like to see Kuwait returned to its people but fears the outbreak of a war that would turn everyone into a refugee suffering tragic consequences. The solution, in his opinion, is to return Kuwait safe and sound to its legitimate owners and war will not realize this end.

Shukri made these statements at the beginning of his interview with AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT about the upcoming 19 November Egyptian elections that the SLP and several other political parties and forces have decided to boycott. The current crisis in the gulf, however, has overshadowed any other issue and it was impossible to meet with the opposition leader in the former Egyptian parliament without raising with him some questions surrounding his party's position on this issue. Shukri wanted very much to convey through AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT that this was the Labor Party's true position that, he says, has been met with understanding by the Custodian of the Two Holy Places, King

Fahd Bin-'Abd-al-'Aziz, when the Islamic mediation delegation visited the Saudi kingdom at the beginning of last month.

He added that the Custodian of the Two Holy Places asked the delegates to keep up their endeavors to find a way out of the crisis the Arab nation is experiencing and not to despair if they were discouraged in Iraq from pursuing their mission, for they have to knock at the door repeatedly.

Why Boycott the Elections?

Following this clarification which AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT made sure to record, our intense interview with him centered on the question marks raised about his party's position on the upcoming elections in Egypt. It was natural to begin with the Labor Party's decision to boycott these elections and justifications behind this decision. He said: "When President Mubarak announced a public referendum on the dissolution of the former People's Assembly that was proven unconstitutional, the opposition parties asked to take part in drafting the new election law with the ruling National Party via a joint committee. We were surprised, however, by the enactment of the election law in its current form that is without adequate guarantees to ensure totally honest elections. Nevertheless we asked that the judiciary oversee the elections because Article 88 of the constitution talks about the judiciary overseeing the voting process, supervising the polling stations, and counting the votes in the presence of representatives from all participating parties.

"Moreover we, as an opposition, demand that election lists be amended to include the names of all those who are not 18 years old immediately and without red tape and to cross out the names of those who passed away a long time ago. None of this was done, so it was incumbent upon us to withdraw because the government wanted us to be a pro forma opposition."

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] How did you make the final decision to boycott the elections?

[Shukri] Following the enactment of the election law in its current form, the Labor Party central committee met and decided not to take part in the elections. I then met with my brothers in the Wafd Party, the Liberal Party, and the Muslim Brotherhood Party to study the new situation and we adopted the unanimous decision in favor of boycotting the elections.

But the Grouping Party, under the leadership of Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, had other considerations. The truth is that the Grouping Party had decided long before the elections to enter the elections on grounds that it had stayed out of the People's Assembly for three consecutive sessions. Also elections by the individual system allow a party to win a number of seats in the People's Assembly. At any rate, we respected their position,

emphasizing the need for all opposition parties to cooperate to provide adequate guarantees for a sound election process free of rigging and tampering.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Do you think that the inconsistency of your party's positions with those of the Grouping, the Ummah, the Unionist, and Misr al-Fatat [Young Egypt] Parties detracts from your decision to oppose the elections?

[Shukri] With all due respect to these parties, and except for the Grouping Party under the leadership of Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, I wonder about the unity of parties that have no popular bases. They are parties that have little impact on the political and partisan process. I believe that they have no chance whatsoever of making significant gains in the fight for People's Assembly seats.

Thus, our inconsistent positions will not diminish the impact of our decision to boycott the elections. But let me tell you that these parties' participation in the elections will expose to the Egyptian public their popular substance compared to the achievements of the Labor Party-Muslim Brotherhood alliance in the former People's Assembly.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] It has been noted that many independents have filed candidacy forms for the next People's assembly. Do you think they can win a share of assembly seats?

[Shukri] To begin with, let me make it clear that the independent candidates are no substitute for parties' participation in the elections. Perhaps it is not premature to say that, should any of these candidates win the race, 99 percent of them will join the National Party because, to put it plainly, the elected deputies would want to realize certain interests for their constituencies, something that cannot be achieved without joining a party.

What Do You Want?

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Elections by the relative slate was one of the demands you and some opposition parties had put forth. In your newspaper, however, you seemed to support a return to the individual system and when the government complied and the system was reinstated, you refused to take part in the elections. How do you explain that?

[Shukri] The truth is that we want the relative slate system but free of the condition to get 8 percent of the vote. There is no doubt that, under the individual election system, many votes are squandered because candidates who receive 50 percent plus one of the votes win while those who receive 50 percent minus one do not get anything. Furthermore, this system makes it much easier for the National Party to control the results than the slate system. However, besides the eight-percent condition, we have another observation regarding the slate law—that the complicated computation methods

stipulated in the law are unfair because they put the opposition parties at a disadvantage.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] But our demand for the relative slate system requires the amendment of certain articles of the constitution. Isn't that so?

[Shukri] Yes. There has to be a change by stipulating that the slate system is a viable way to hold elections without breaching the equity between independent and party candidates. This can be done by dropping the provision that slates have to be partisan, thus allowing the independents to form slates of their own. Moreover, an individual would be able to run for elections by himself on his slate. This is actually done in some countries that follow the slate system.

Guarantees for Honesty First

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] The People's Assembly elections will be held under extremely difficult circumstances, politically and economically. The boycott notwithstanding, will the party offer the voters any platforms or ideas?

[Shukri] First, before going over the platforms, we would like to emphasize that, as a labor party and as opposition parties in general, we have demands that can be summed up in guarantees for honesty and impartiality, beginning with those that verify that voters actually did cast their votes in front of the election committee. Precedent has shown that in past elections the turnout rate, which was no more than 5 to 10 percent in urban areas and 20 to 30 percent in rural areas was 100 percent in some districts. This stems from the ease with which votes are recorded without the voters actually going to the polls to vote. Therefore we demand that voters be required to sign their names or, in the case of the illiterate, to put their fingerprints, a system followed in many countries and recently applied in the United States through a sophisticated device that merely photographs the fingerprints.

Secondly, we demand full judicial oversight as stipulated by the constitution and demanded by judges in their forums and in the first conference on justice. In other words oversight ought not to be confined to the general committees but should extend to the subcommittees.

Finally, we have the emergency law under which elections are held. This has a negative impact on the parties' freedom, in holding election conventions in particular, in addition to the information media (TV, radio, national newspapers) that are under National Party control. This is to say nothing of the partiality demonstrated by governors who attend National Party conventions and nominate party candidates.

As for the economic platform, we have a point of view founded on the party's platform that stresses self-reliance, personal efforts, and personal ability for this nation whose 7,000-year old civilization is still rooted in the intrinsic nature of the Egyptian human being.

To realize this goal it is necessary to draw up convincing platforms in which the people can believe and with which they can identify. In the last 20 years, however, we have witnessed new and strange patterns of consumption and standards of living that are not representative of Egyptian society, for they were conceived abroad and brought into the country to create a kind of consumption that is incompatible with production rates.

This is our policy: To be representative of the people and to convince them that it is aimed at building the nation and pleasing God Almighty. Our Islamic religion has all the principles and regulations that render human life totally geared to the worship of God.

Muslim Brotherhood Reportly Wants Political Party

91P40071A Cairo AL-SIYASI in Arabic 11 Nov 90 p 5

[Text] The Muslim Brotherhood [MB], after its decision to boycott the elections, is looking for a new role in an attempt to fill the gap that it will on the Egyptian street, especially since the People's Assembly is the only legal channel for the MB to express its views and prove its existence. AL-SIYASI sources indicate that Shaykh Muhammad Hamid Abu-al-Nasr, supreme guide of the MB, commissioned a group of lawyers in [his] office to study the possibility of renewing the MB's efforts to establish a new political party named the Muslim brotherhood, according to the first article of the first section of the law on political parties which affirms the right of Egyptians to form political parties. However, legal sources believe that any request from the MB to establish a new party will face opposition by the committee for party affairs, because it contradicts the fourth article of the law on parties. [The article] stipulates that to establish any political party, the party's constituent parts, principles, goals, programs, policies, and methods should not contradict the principles of the 23 July revolution and should protect the socialist democratic system and socialist gains. [It also] specifies that the party should not be built, in its principles, programs, activities, and the selection of its leadership and its members, on a basis that contradicts the provisions of the law regarding the protection of internal affairs and social well-being or on the basis of social class, sect, profession, religion, or dogma.

Government to Pay Debt to Czechs with Consumer Goods

91AA0056B Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI in Arabic 1 Nov 90 p 5

[Dispatch from Prague by 'Adil Shafiq: "Egyptian Debts Repaid With Consumer Goods"]

[Text] The Egyptian Businessmen's Association's first exhibit in the Czech capital of Prague featured upward of 25 Egyptian firms displaying Egyptian products for export. The association is sponsoring a series of exhibits abroad in order to promote Egyptian exports.

The exhibit was inaugurated by the Czech minister of commerce and a number of officials, businessmen, and heads of foreign trade companies. Exhibitors entered into several contracts to export ready-made garments, computers, cosmetics, perfumes, foods, household goods, shoes and leathergoods, air-conditioning equipment and refrigerators, and aluminum products.

Sa'id al-Tawil, president of the Egyptian Businessmen's Association, said that agreement was reached with Czechoslovakia that Egypt's \$17 million in debt are to be repaid with consumer goods. Instead of repayment in hard currency or with petroleum and cotton exports, the agreement calls for repayment with exports from among the exhibited products. Exports worth \$5 million will be delivered by the end of the year, and goods worth \$12 million will be exported in 1991.

He added that the exhibit was the first serious attempt to enter Czech markets and that Egyptian goods and products are very attractive to the market which suffers acute shortages of many of the consumer goods that Egypt produces with high quality at moderate prices. He emphasized that it is important for Egyptians to promote exports to East European markets, study their needs, and take advantage of our strong commercial relations with them. Recent political changes have caused European and Southeast Asian countries to target those markets. These countries are still feeling their way to those markets, which are relatively new to them. This mandates that Egypt move expediently and take advantage of long-time relations with officials, most of whom remain in the new government. Competition is still in our favor as proven by the popularity of Egyptian products and by Czech market surveys that revealed shortages of a large number of goods in which Egypt has production surpluses.

A group of Czech businessmen have agreed to visit Egypt next December to finalize the agreement and sign contracts for the importation of several Egyptian products. Rapid developments in the Czech economy will permit market forces to determine prices and to gradually remove subsidies of goods and services in favor of a totally free economy.

It was evident that the Czech economy suffers from the same problems that plagued the Egyptian economy in the early stages of the open door policy. That created a common language for dialogue between businessmen on both sides and [helped] an understanding of [Czech] economic problems, especially those of foreign exchange. A number of reciprocal transactions, which are to be implemented by newly founded specialized firms, were agreed upon. That would accord Egyptian companies preference and priority in marketing their products in Czechoslovakia. By contrast, reciprocal transactions are difficult with Western European countries which are more accustomed to trading directly in hard currencies.

It is clear that a large number of heads of government foreign trade enterprises are looking for independence and free enterprise. Naturally, they would deal initially with trade partners with whom they dealt earlier as heads of government companies, especially if hard currency problems are circumvented through reciprocal transactions.

Members of the Egyptian Businessmen's Association have decided as a matter of policy to focus on Eastern European markets even if they have to sacrifice on pricing and profitability in order to acquire a name for Egyptian products. Those markets clearly account for considerable demand and have a high capacity for absorbing many Egyptian consumer goods, as well as for [boosting] Egypt's tourist industry. Czechoslovakia needs to build several hotels to accommodate currently high tourist inflows and is hampered by a lack of accommodations. That creates opportunities for such Egyptian industries as plumbing fixtures, carpeting, upscale furniture, stainless steel table settings, aluminum products, etc.

Writers Comment on Parliamentary Election Results

NDP Losses, Vote Buying

91AA0126A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic
3 Dec 90 p 3

[Mustafa Amin Column: "Idea"]

[Text] The surprise in the latest Egyptian parliamentary election is the fall of a large number of the National Democratic Party [NDP] candidates, even though the party has won a majority. Significant names have disappeared and unknown names have surfaced. Most districts have been free of forgery. The incidents that have taken place are ordinary incidents that occur in all elections.

The president of the republic has kept his promise to the people that the election would be free. However, this does not prevent one from regretting the fact that the Wafd, Labor, and Liberal Parties and the Muslim Brotherhood boycotted the election. We believe that if they had participated in the election and if no rigging had been practiced, they would have gained 150 seats, excluding the independents. The biggest surprise is the success of ex-Interior Minister Ahmad Rushdi. This is clear evidence that there has been no intervention in his district. After departing the cabinet, Ahmad Rushdi was treated poorly, was included in the list of undesirables, and was supposed to be dropped. But even this has not happened, thank God. The election has proven that the NDP wages the election like any other party. Some of its leaders have failed and a number of those whom the party had refused to nominate as candidates and who challenged the party and ran for election have succeeded.

The government was displeased with their candidacy and this governmental anger has been a reason for their success.

The election witnessed a prosperous [vote] sale and purchase market. The government did not intervene to apprehend the buyers and the sellers because it would have thus been compelled to apprehend the majority of the candidates. What has happened in the election requires us to issue a law that sets a maximum limit to what a candidate can spend in an election. We will thus protect the poor and the simple who run for election. We will, at the same time, protect the country from middlemen and commission agents, some of whom sought to run for election so that they may gain the immunity that protects them from the arm of the law. This happened with a number of prominent deputies in the previous People's Assembly. Despite the absence of the formal opposition, we expect that a number of deputies will form a reasonable opposition capable of exposing mistakes and of acting as a "brake" that prevents the government car from constantly climbing onto the sidewalk. Khalid Muhyi-al-Din will be the opposition star in the new assembly. However, some people say that if the major parties had not boycotted the election, [the government] would not have permitted Khalid Muhyi-al-Din to succeed. The story has yet to be concluded.

Prospects for Democracy

91AA0126B Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI in Arabic
6 Dec 90 p 6

[Article by 'Ismat al-Huwari: "Heresy of Appointment to People's Assembly"]

[Text] Present-day Egypt has inherited from the past a constitutional heresy that is unique to the current Egyptian constitution among all constitutions of the world. This heresy is not a beneficial thing that brings the Egyptian people greater democracy. It is, and we say this with utter bitterness and pain, a constitutional catastrophe embedded in the heart of Article 87 of the existing constitution that empowers the president of the republic to appoint some People's Assembly members, not exceeding 10 in number.

Yes, today's Egypt has inherited from the past Egypt this constitutional error which has empowered certain individuals to represent the people and which has usurped the people's will. These individuals are innocent of the honor of representing the people and they have been imposed by this error to act as the people's representatives and deputies who speak in the people's name when they are not empowered to do so. These individuals are vain agents, corrupt deputies, and false representatives. Can those appointed to the People's Assembly be the equals of those elected to the assembly?

Let every official in this country know that the nation's sovereignty is above all other sovereignty and that the nation can be sovereign only through a representative assembly which includes representatives elected freely and honestly by the people. The people's will, and only the people's will, determines who represents the people in the People's Assembly. This will is higher and more

sublime than any other will. Thus, appointment to the People's Assembly is a constitutional abnormality that dictates a serious and firm pause aimed at purging the constitution of an impurity which has infiltrated its provisions and has turned democracy into a misshapen midget and into hateful deceit.

Those who allege that the president of the republic has the constitutional right to make appointments to the People's Assembly must realize that if appointment is a right, then it is a most hateful right. The constitution is not a divine book in order that it may not be amended or replaced. The constitution is manmade. It should continue to be valid and extant if it is a source of goodness at the democratic level. Down with the constitution if the constitution carries provisions that blow away pure democracy and that cling to the democracy of appointment.

Gentlemen, democracy means reaffirming the people's sovereign right to self-rule by fully establishing their will. This can be accomplished only through freely and honestly-elected people's representatives. Only through free election can the nation embody its word by selecting its representatives. It is also with free election that the group's power rises and the individual's power vanishes.

It is with free election that the people's control of their will is reaffirmed and that this will rises above the will of individuals, regardless of the position they hold and the power they enjoy. Democracy dictates that the people, all the people, be the source of powers so that no regime may be established unless through the people's exercise of their powers. Thus, democracy and election become truly inseparable. Election is the only means to find out the people's will. Thus, the sure fact is that appointment to the People's Assembly is tantamount to belittling the people's will and powers. If you wish, you can even say that such an appointment is tantamount to a flagrant falsifying of this will and to voiding the nation's right to select its representatives.

Democracy is not, and will not be, a slogan reiterated by a tongue and two lips. Rather, it is tantamount to popular behavior and mass action through free election. It is the people's rule which cannot be achieved with cheers and applause but with the people's exercise of their powers to self-rule and with the people's actual participation in shouldering the collective responsibilities and in vigilantly confronting the various problems and challenges. This can be accomplished only through the action of freely-elected people's representatives. Such representatives are like a good tree that has firm roots and sky-high branches and that yields its fruits at all times, God willing, whereas appointed representatives are like an uprooted and unfathomable evil tree!

This is truly a constitutional heresy reiterated by an unconstitutional provision in the existing constitution. Thus, the Egyptian parliamentary assembly has become a mixture of members elected by the people and members appointed by presidential decree. This is a rejected

heresy for which I find no justification and no explanation, regardless of the reasons for its existence. It is not in the logic of legitimacy to justify illegitimate action even if the end is legitimate. We must understand that if democracy is an end in itself, then the means to achieve it must be democratic.

The People's Assembly is not a government agency or an administrative state apparatus, so that the administrative reins of the legislative authority may be assumed by appointed members. Membership in this assembly reflects the will of a nation, not of an individual, combined in elected members, regardless of their political tendencies. The legislative authority is the people's will that has moved and selected those who are capable of reflecting the people's hopes and aspirations. Thus, it is the highest, most significant, and most influential authority!

We must realize that every heresy begins small and then grows bigger. Thus, democracy can be crushed by what is deemed to be little heresies. By overlooking a heresy, it becomes a rule which then becomes a tradition which then turns into an obligation. If the existing constitution has now permitted the heresy of the appointment of no more than 10 members to the People's Assembly, then the danger, the biggest danger, lies in amending the number of appointees in the future to exceed the current number. This is a danger that is likely to materialize and that must be obviated immediately!

People are entitled to ask: How is it permissible, with the logic of democracy, to consider an appointed member a representative of the people when he has not derived his membership from a popular election but has derived it from an individual decision? People are also entitled to wonder: If the principle of the separation of powers is one of the fundamental mainstays from which democracy emanates, then isn't the appointment of members to the parliamentary assembly on an individual decree tantamount to direct intervention in forming the assembly, and isn't this intervention tantamount to voiding the principle of the separation of powers?

We must understand that election alone makes the parliamentary assembly a major power that is embodied in the laws issued by this assembly in the people's name. How can appointed members be permitted to usurp the power of representing the people through these laws? If they allege in justifying the appointment heresy that it is intended to bolster the parliamentary assembly with capable people, then this justification is undemocratic and it encompasses an undemocratic vision which considers the people to be incapable and in need of custodianship, at a time when they [government leaders] reiterate that the people are the leaders!

Plan for Streamlining Government Administration Detailed

91AA0094A Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic
9 Nov 90 pp 26-27

[Article by Dr. 'Ali al-Silmi]

[Excerpt] In a previous article, I set forth several of the most important problems that afflict the Egyptian administration, especially the governmental administration, and their negative effects on the progress of society and different aspects of life in Egypt. Before discussing the elements of what I envisage as a realistic program to develop the Egyptian administration, let us consider several situations in which sectors of Egyptian society have achieved notable success, domestically or internationally; attempt to note the factors that contributed to this success; and compare this success with other situations in which the same degree of success has not been achieved, or success has turned into failure, and examine what happened. In so doing, we can perhaps reach what we want to underscore. [passage omitted]

What I envisage as a remedy for the problems of the Egyptian administration is based primarily on an idea of the utmost simplicity, which is to make the exception the rule.

We will focus our discussion in this article on the government administration:

Making the exception to the rule means redefining the role played by the government administration in different fields of national activity in order to ensure the availability of the conditions for dynamism and flexibility and the ability to deal with changes and perform. Let us agree that the government administration's role must be limited to defining the general directions of national activity, outlining policies, and formulating general plans for comprehensive, national development in the sense of outlining the general frameworks of the fields of national activity.

Then, the central governmental administration must completely refrain from intervening in the implementation of development plans and programs, which must be the responsibility of units that are financially, administratively, and technically independent, in the manner of the Suez Canal Organization, the Taba negotiating team, or the supreme armed forces command, without diverging from national objectives and approaches.

This basic step would be consolidated by reforming the structure of the governmental administration in the following manner:

A small number of centralized ministries would each be responsible for planning, guidance, and the drafting of general development programs with respect to a main state sector. (In other words, these ministries would undertake strategic planning for a given sector as a whole, such as the industrial, agricultural, education, health, or public utilities sector.)

A larger number of financially, administratively, and technically independent public organizations (or executive units) would each perform the tasks of drafting and implementing detailed programs and plans in a limited field within a larger sector supervised by one of the ministries. Each one of these organizations would have an independent budget and operating rules and regulations promulgated by its administrative council, which would be independent of rigid, governmental constraints and regulations.

For example, in the education sector, each university would have its independent existence, freedom of action, and operating regulations and terms that would be determined by a university council that would have final authority in this regard. The same situation would obtain in other sectors. We advocate distributing the responsibilities for national activity to responsible, independent entities. These entities would bear their responsibilities, plan their resources, and move in different innovative and revitalizing directions to achieve their goals under the guidance of national directives. In addition, these entities' administrations would be held accountable for the results.

The creation of councils for coordination (and, I repeat, for coordination) between pertinent organizations that operate in a single field or common fields. Thus, there would be a council for coordination between organizations operating in the fields of wire and radio communications, the mail, telegraph, and related industries or services. Or, there would be a council for coordination between organizations operating in the areas of public utilities, including electricity, gas, water, and sewage. The members of these councils would include the chairmen of the organizations that comprise them, who would rotate the chairmanship of the council among themselves. These councils would be used as an instrument by the relevant minister in coordinating and ensuring the achievement of national objectives.

Putting this logic into effect would require the amendment of an important group of basic laws, whose philosophy would be made to harmonize with the new situation. In other words, the said laws would be transformed into general frameworks that lay down the main principles and directives that express the country's highest interests. These laws would thus be amended to permit the executive organizations, each one in its respective field, to establish, through resolutions promulgated by their administrative councils, their own rules, regulations, and operating procedures in a way that would reflect their respective distinctive circumstances. Freedom would also be granted to autonomously amend and develop these rules, regulations, and procedures according to changing objectives or environmental circumstances.

The following are the most important of these laws, which, in their current form, are basic impediments to the administration of executive units:

- Budget Law No. 53 of 1973 and its amendments.
- Plan Law No. 70 of 1973 and its amendments.
- Law No. 47 of 1978 on the State Civil Workers System and its amendments.
- Law No. 9 of 1983 on Sale to the Highest Bidder and Award of Contract to the Lowest Bidder and its amendments.

It is understood that the goal of amending and developing this legislation is to grant freedom to executive units and organizations to draft their own budgets, operating plans, employee regulations, and purchasing procedures in accord with their circumstances and the nature of the fields in which they operate. Another goal would be to provide an opportunity to the administrations responsible for executive organizations to carry out their responsibilities and make appropriate decisions, with accountability being based on results, not on the extent of adherence to procedures and conditions stipulated by laws without regard for poor results or failure to achieve objectives.

Regarding the budget, we call for the correct application of the provision contained in Public Organizations Law No. 61 of 1963, which stipulates that a public organization shall have its own budget, and that the method for preparing that budget, and the regulations governing it, shall be determined in a resolution issued by the president of the republic.

One can deduce from this provision, and all provision of Law No. 61, a desire to free public organizations from rigid governmental regulations and to provide them with an opportunity to establish their own rules and regulations. However, this law has been emptied of its content, and its provisions have become empty slogans that are not applied. The central governmental administration has maintained its dominance through the Budget Law, the Plan Law, the State Civil Workers System Law, and the Law on Sale to the Highest Bidder and Award of Contract to the Lowest Bidder. It has thus consolidated its stranglehold on the administrative councils of public organizations and has transformed them into paper councils.

We call for revitalizing the Public Organizations Law by amending it so that public organizations are completely removed from the purview of the above-mentioned laws. This happened previously regarding the electricity and oil sectors, inasmuch as special laws were issued to enable these sectors to draft rules and regulations for their employees and wage and salary schedules that are not in fact constrained by governmental regulations.

The public organizations' relation to the general state budget would thus be limited to the inclusion of their surpluses or deficits in the state budget. This would also be the case regarding the plan: Each public organization that is considered a single project relative to the plan would be granted Chapter Three financing allocations as a lump sum, without intervention on the part of the

Planning Ministry regarding the details of the disbursement of the allocation. The administrative council of each organization would have the authority to distribute the allocation to the investment plan's components.

This legislative development would be accompanied by the elimination, or restructuring, of a group of central agencies that enforce these laws, the most salient being the Central Enforcement and Administration Agency, The Central Accounting Agency, the Central General Mobilization and Statistics Agency, the General Governmental Services Organization, and the National Investment Bank. Each of these agencies has been established to entrench administrative centralism and to strengthen the hold of the central bureaucratic apparatus on different executive units, without contributing, even in small measure, to production and implementation. I recommend freeing executive organizations and units from these agencies' control and intervention, which mostly occurs without understanding. I also recommend that these central agencies be restored to their natural size. The Central Enforcement and Administration Agency is no more than a civil service committee or a council that coordinates general rules and common foundations in the public employment system, and no more. The Central Accounting Agency's role is limited to financial monitoring and the review of financial dispositions. It should return to what it was, an administration for accounting. The Central Mobilization and Statistics Agency is in reality nothing more than a system for information whose role should be limited to providing information and statistics at the national level.

The General Governmental Services Organization is a useless agency of no consequence that must be eliminated.

Review of a number of supervisory agencies, whose purviews overlap, which undertake numerous interventions in the affairs of executive units, and which, in many cases, disregard the limits of their prescribed roles. These superfluous agencies must be eliminated, and we must return to the natural situation of relying on the inquiry and investigation agencies (National Inspection and Control), the prosecutor general's offices, the financial affairs prosecutor, the judiciary, and internal control systems within the different organizations.

The public would have an interest in these changes, because they would result in a smaller, less costly, more efficient governmental apparatus. The attainment of this goal requires courage and decisiveness, inasmuch as it requires economizing on the number of employees. It would thus be necessary to put into effect early retirement regulations, restore the system of transfer to provisional retirement, and establish objective controls to prevent the abuse of this system.

These changes on the level of the central governmental administration are one of three pillars in a program envisaged for developing the Egyptian administration. We will devote independent articles to each of the other

two pillars, which are the local administration and the public sector administration.

IRAQ

U.S. Public Opinion on Crisis Profiled

91AE0129D Baghdad AL-QADISIYAH in Arabic
5 Nov 90 p 5

[Article: "U.S. Public Opinion and Gulf Crisis: Bush's Policy Is Exposed to Storms"]

[Text] London—Insat—U.S. President George Bush and Iraqi President Saddam Husayn are eyeing each other through the gun barrels of the artillery of their two armies in the Gulf and they have to face the greater ambiguity in the positions they have been trying to evaluate, namely the positions pertaining to the reaction of the U.S. public opinion to this difficult crisis.

The connection between U.S. foreign policy and the American people's disposition is a complex connection. But all the parties concerned with this crisis have been trying to influence its course.

The Gulf crisis has not yet become an issue for the U.S. political tendencies, at least in the conventional sense of partisan politics there.

Next Tuesday, U.S. voters will go to the polling boxes to elect new congressional members in congressional byelections.

(Roland Irving), the CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY editor, has said:

The Gulf crisis is evoking extreme concern in the country. Opposition voices are rising simultaneously, and this is what is strange in the matter, from the rightist and leftist wings to oppose any U.S. commitment to fight in the Gulf region.

(Lesley Stone), a BBC staff member and long-time researcher of U.S. political affairs, expresses his opinion in this regard, saying:

All agree that Iraq has made a mistake. But the problem is: What should we do vis-a-vis Iraq and to what limit should the sacrifices go in this regard? There is in the Democratic Party a liberal faction that has constantly cast doubt since the Vietnam war on the feasibility of using military force. This faction demands that diplomatic efforts be made and that the use of force be avoided. Some of this faction's members ask: Why should we die for the multi-national oil companies?

On the other hand, the Republican Party's conservative right wing, which has always supported the use of force against communism because it has viewed it as an epidemic—a wing for which the fight has always been charged with religious fervor—harbors for Iraq feelings different from those harbored by the Democratic Party's liberals.

As to the U.S. public, opinion polls have shown that last August and September nearly 75 percent the people supported the decisions made by President Bush, including his dispatch of the U.S. forces and his threat to go to war in the Gulf region. But these figures dropped to nearly 60 percent last month. There has always been a majority that has supported avoiding the use of military force and giving diplomatic efforts and the UN sanctions an opportunity to achieve the desired objective.

(Hughes Sidey), one of U.S. TIME magazine's prominent Washington reporters, believes that the poll results are not at all surprising. He has said:

But we hate to get involved in foreign adventures. This has been the case with us for 200 years. But I also realize that the Americans are now aware that there is just one superpower in the arena and that it has to establish stability in the Middle East. Questions are, of course, raised regarding the consequences of such a commitment. The U.S. people still remember Vietnam. Popular support for the administration has begun to drop. This is normal. But the percentage of the drop is not high. I believe that the president will now overcome the crisis.

In this period of weakness in President Bush's position, the congress has begun to show that it wants to prove its presence vis-a-vis the Gulf crisis. Many congressional members want to make sure that the president will not exceed what they view as the bounds of his constitutional powers by embarking on war without their approval. Nearly two-thirds the Democratic members of the House of Representatives have written to the President, expressing their firm opposition to the adoption of any military steps.

Here is (Roland Irving) shedding light on this climate, saying:

The President's policy is viewed as being exposed to serious storms at this point. While we, as Americans, are trying to put pressure on Iraq, we fear that the matter will take a very long time, that the U.S. forces' morale will fall, that military equipment will corrode and rust, and that vast sums of money will be spent without accomplishing any result. The other consideration is that should a catastrophe occur, the Democrats want to put it on record that they warned against such a catastrophe. But this does not mean that the positions of the Democratic and Republican Parties vis-a-vis the Gulf crisis have weakened.

But remaining patient in the United States has begun to be a problem. President Bush himself has expressed some frustration in this regard. (Lesley Stone) refers here to an element that is due to culture and traditions, saying:

Americans ordinarily lose their patience very quickly. They want to see action with their own eyes. In the U.S. athletic traditions, a draw does not exist. Therefore, even though U.S. Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney speaks of U.S. patience and of exhausted patience, one

wonders: How has the United States managed to keep its forces in West Germany and South Korea for dozens of years?

The answer to this is that this is considered a part of international efforts to contain communism.

So to President Bush, it is still an open question if he can maintain the U.S. people's support for his embarking on a large-scale war in the Gulf.

The U.S. President can resist his country's public opinion in the short run. Rather, he can, to a large degree, mold this opinion and even manipulate it. But ultimately, he is at the mercy of his country's public opinion. Bush, like the previous U.S. presidents, launched the propaganda campaign for a second presidential term as of the moment he assumed his position as President.

Bush Accused of Breaking International Law

91AE0034B Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic
14 Sep 90 p 10

[Editorial by Diyab Nabhan: "When Will Bush Remember There Is International Law?"]

[Text] Only 24 hours after American President George Bush stated that "holding an international conference to solve the Palestinian issue might be acceptable," the Zionist entity's foreign minister, David Levi, rejected this idea. In a scornful and arrogant interview, he said that the idea of this proposal reminded him of the name of the American record "Blowing in the Wind." He added that the Zionist entity would not allow itself to be dragged to a conference that would be tantamount to an international trial.

The American president has not put forth a clear position vis-a-vis the idea of an international conference to resolve the Palestinian issue. The government in Washington has not made a decision in this respect. It has rejected, as have the American administrations that preceded it, the idea of the international conference, so that Washington could stand alone in Middle Eastern affairs and exclude the Soviet Union and other great powers from its purview. The sum of the matter is that the American president, by means of this statement, wanted to overcome the dilemma that President Saddam Husayn's 12 August initiative put him in, an initiative which calls for a comprehensive solution of the region's disputes as a necessary step for those who want to advance peace and stability. Consequently, Bush gave the appearance of someone who could accept the idea of holding an international conference to resolve the Palestinian issue, despite what is widely recognized in the world. The United States is the one that blocks legitimate Palestinian rights. It is the one that has deployed all its resources to derail every effort to attain these rights throughout more than four decades. The United States is the one that has enabled the Zionist enemy to flaunt the

will of the international community, ignore all resolutions issued by the United Nations concerning the Palestinian issue, and violate international law and the UN Charter, recklessly and aggressively.

We are certain that the American president was not serious in his statement and would not be serious about pursuing a policy in this direction. The matter is but a speck of dust in one's eye. Nevertheless, the Zionist rejection came quickly and clearly, and needed no interpretation. It was a rejection that expressed the reality of American policy which, at all times, has only been an echo of Zionist claims. The record of American-Zionist relations has been free of any position with which the Zionist entity has been dissatisfied, or which has been incompatible with its aggressive, expansionist tendencies. This record is replete with aggressive positions towards the Arabs and their legitimate rights in Palestine and elsewhere. It is widely known that the United Nations and the Security Council needed more than five months after the June 1967 War, in which the Zionist enemy occupied the territory of three Arab countries, to issue Security Council Resolution 242. Since that date, up until today, and perhaps until God knows when, the United Nations and the international community have been blocked by American positions and by Zionist rejection, without succeeding in any form with regard to implementation of this resolution and Zionist withdrawal from Arab territory.

The United States has used all its influence to make international law disappear and to nullify the UN Charter. Or rather, it made this international organization vanish, and nullified any serious role it had in achieving the Zionist withdrawal from occupied Arab territory and in attaining the right of the Arab Palestinian people to return [to Palestine] and to enjoy self-determination. Moreover, the United States has ambushed any attempt to condemn the Zionist entity and its aggressive, criminal acts in Palestine and against other Arab countries.

However, when it concerns Iraq and the restoration of a part of its territory, which was stripped from it by iniquitous British colonialism, the United States remembered that there is a United Nations, and that there is a Security Council. It dealt with them as if they were American institutions, issuing rapid and unjust resolutions that affect its security and the security of the entire region, without listening to the viewpoint of the party that those resolutions concerned. The United States then used international law and the UN Charter as if they were margins on the pages of the American Constitution in order to justify its occupation of Arab lands in Najd and al-Hijaz and to impose a blockade against Iraq, including foodstuffs and medicines. These items are designated in the UN Charter as humanitarian supplies, which should not be included in an embargo. It would have been appropriate for the United Nations and the Security Council to impose such a blockade against the Zionist enemy, which has occupied Arab territory in Palestine, Lebanon, and Syria for 23 years. The enemy

has emphasized day and night that this territory is "liberated Israeli territory," and that it is subject to Zionist law. As a result of that, the Zionist enemy behaves in such a way as to change the geographic and historic nature of this territory.

President Saddam Husayn's 12 August initiative is a solid foundation, on which international legitimacy can stand to apply law, justice, and human rights and to promote peace and stability. This can only be done by establishing the rights of the Arab Palestinian people with regard to returning [to Palestine] and enjoying self-determination, and by enabling them to attain these rights first, before anything else.

If American imperialism, and the Zionist entity, depend on the rejection of Arab rights in Palestine and the other occupied territories, and on a reckless disdain for these rights through tyrannical force, then the time will come when they understand that the era of Arab weakness has gone, that fortress Iraq has today become the symbol of Arab power and Arab strength, and that the popular depth that Iraq enjoys is not just in the Arab nation, but also in all Islamic countries and in circles of honorable forces in the world. This depth is additional power that will be imposed on the Zionist-American alliance. All Arab rights will be wrested completely from the claws of the Zionist occupation.

Women's Union Leader Interviewed on Blockade, Crisis

91AE0129F London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic
19 Nov 90 pp 41-43

[Interview with Manal Yunis, Iraqi Women's Federation Chairman, by Hamidah Na'na' in Baghdad; "Manal Yunis to AL-TADAMUN: One Million Iraqi Women for Suicidal Missions; Democracy in Iraq is Embodied Today in its Most Magnificent Form and Our Unity is Expression of This Form; House Gardens, Balconies, and Roofs Have Turned Into Cultivated Spaces; Family Life Reorganized Under Slogan of 'Eat To Survive, not to be Satiated'"; first two paragraphs are AL-TADAMUN introduction; date not given]

[Text] Baghdad—An interview with Manal Yunis, chairman of the Iraqi Women's Federation, under circumstances of the blockade imposed on Iraq, is seemingly essential. Throughout eight years of war, the federation contributed to strengthening the domestic front, thus helping achieve victory. Under the canopy of the blockade imposed on Iraq at present, the federation has an important role to play in averting the consequences of this blockade, considering that women are in charge of home economics and consumption. Moreover, women are the fundamental mainstay of the domestic front in the declared state of general mobilization.

In addition to holding the position of chairwoman of the General Federation of Iraqi Women, Manal Yunis is also the chairwoman of the Arab Women's Federation and a law researcher.

[Na'na] What steps and arrangements has the federation made to confront the blockade?

[Yunis] The federation has taken several steps, made several arrangements, and drawn up comprehensive plans to confront the economic blockade by reducing spending, by dispensing with certain commodities and using alternatives, and by producing goods that are important to the people's life. The federation, as an organization concerned with women's affairs and with developing women's awareness (side-by-side with the other information and educational institutions), began by studying the goods whose delivery is expected to be stopped by the blockade, so as to define alternatives and to teach women how to use these alternatives. We have conducted our study in cooperation with the authorities concerned with trade and industry.

[Na'na] How do you coordinate with these authorities?

[Yunis] The federation has formed a working team that includes specialists in economic, trade, and agricultural affairs, in food industries, and in home economics. The team includes volunteer women, some of them retired from the service and some of whom work in the various sectors as university professors, teachers, lawyers, and employees in different establishments.

In the initial days of the blockade, we began with the agricultural sector, examined alternatives to imported commodities and prepared messages, totalling 17 in all, in which we determined how to get legumes, meat, and various food requirements domestically. We then moved to clothing and determined how to secure the requirements for school uniforms, how to sew them, how to use textiles available locally, and how to retailor old clothes.

We then examined the energy issue and offered specific programs to streamline the use of energy. A number of specialists in energy affairs took part with us in drafting these programs.

To implement these programs, the federation established organizational networks that initially covered 74 percent of the country's governorates. We then expanded these networks to cover Iraq in its entirety. Women leaders meeting the leadership qualities have been entrusted to implement these programs.

[Na'na] What is the mechanism and method of operation of these groups [networks]?

[Yunis] We started with the educational program first. We employed the means of direct enlightenment, dividing the women's sector into groups of women, each group consisting of 16 women. The official in charge discusses the programs and the messages issued with every group. During the group's weekly meeting, every woman presents her experience in how to achieve results in reducing expenditure and consumption, whether in the area of agriculture or poultry or in the consumption of other goods. The slogan we have raised from the outset is the slogan of transforming house gardens and

balconies and roofs of buildings into cultivated spaces. Through coordination with the media, we have explained how this is to be done. For example, the papers allocate us a page weekly to publish our programs and the outcome of the experiences of the women's groups. We are also allotted a certain time for the purpose on radio and television. The other means to which we have resorted to enlighten women is the means of holding expanded symposiums to disseminate the experiences.

[Na'na] What are your programs in the area of poultry breeding and of agriculture?

[Yunis] Regarding poultry breeding, we have had to encourage from the outset the breeding of poultry that feed on table scraps, namely meat-producing poultry. We have also raised bees and encouraged women to do the same in order to produce honey which helps in nourishing children as a substitute for milk. We have also devoted attention to dates which are available to us in large quantities because they constitute an immense nutritional wealth. Eating 11 dates daily is tantamount to consuming all the dietary requirements that an individual needs daily, considering that dates provide the needed protein and sugar. In this regard, we have used dates to make children's food because milk shortage is the biggest shortage under the current conditions. We give the milk available to us to infants who are less than one-year old. At older ages, we rely on other substances to feed infants so as to reduce the possibilities of some maladies emanating from malnutrition.

We contacted the owners of food factories in the public and private sectors to conduct a study on providing a children's food made of dates. The study has been completed and is being implemented currently.

[Na'na] What is the program in the area of energy and how are you working to reduce consumption?

[Yunis] In the energy area, our program is based on two points: First, reducing energy consumption (gas, electricity, oil) and replacing it with wood for fear of military strikes against the energy sources. In our informational messages, we have said that every home should have a store of wood and a store of oil. Women have responded to the request.

As for streamlining, we have numerous methods and programs in which we have explained how a housewife can use wood for cooking instead of gas or electricity and how to streamline gas and electricity consumption and confine it to essentials.

[Na'na] Regarding the question of putting away food stores, it is well known that Iraqi women rely to a large degree on putting away such stores. How have you dealt with this issue?

[Yunis] We have calculated the amounts of essential commodities, such as grains, wheat, and sugar, required to meet the individual's nutritional needs and we have drawn up our programs accordingly. For example,

instead of cooking a dish that consumes large quantities of sugar, a housewife can cook other types of dishes that do not require as much. Practically, a housewife can wash her laundry once a week instead of three times a week in order to save gas, soap, and water. As for food, she can bake bread instead of buying it. We have, for example, called bread made from brown wheat the steadfastness bread.

We believe that the steps taken so far will help us confront the blockade. We are reorganizing the family life under the slogan of "eat to survive, not to be satiated."

[Na'na] Will the federation's role be confined to the organizational aspect of life or will women have a direct role in the military battle?

[Yunis] Iraqi women are given good training on the use of weapons from the age of 15. They are also trained on aircraft resistance. Women in the Iraqi society are a part of military life insofar as internal defense is concerned. Women have a complementary role in civil defense, considering that 90 percent of civil defense depends on women.

Civil defense teams have been formed of women and of students ranging in age from 15-18 years. Women are subjected to training and enlightenment programs. For example, if a signal is given through radio or television on a likely strike, there is a specific program known to women to evacuate cities and to transport children to specific sites.

[Na'na] Women in Yemen have formed suicide squads to fight the aggression. Have Iraqi women formed similar squads?

[Yunis] This is a foregone conclusion. Many women have volunteered for suicidal fedayeen missions. The number of such volunteers amounted to nearly 1,000,800 women in the first eight days. The door of volunteering is still open for any suicidal or nonsuicidal mission.

[Na'na] It is reiterated in the western media that the Iraqi society is not a democratic society and that the sector most aware of this lack of democracy is women. Even though women stood fast in the war, the negative consequences of this war have reflected on women primarily and have destroyed the gains made by women throughout their years of struggle. Through your long experience in feminist action, what do you say to this presentation?

[Yunis] I believe that we should debate anew the concept of democracy in our country because it is not right to consider the western democratic pattern as being fit for every society. Each society has its democratic concept according to the nature of its social conflicts. In Iraq, the issue is different. In Iraq, democracy is embodied today in its most magnificent and finest form—and here the comrade National Assembly speaker may get upset with

me—through the General Federation of Iraqi Women which is more reflective of democracy than the Iraqi National Assembly. This popular organization and, similarly, the student and youth organizations represent their respective factions, reflect the concerns and interests of all their segments, and help develop their role in life. Women, not only in Iraq but also in the entire Arab and Islamic world, are the sector that is always damaged most. When women can express their needs and their view of life and of the laws, when they can contribute to formulating the legal base that molds their life, and when women's problems are studied and proposals are made to solve them, then this means that women are contributing effectively to democratic life. If we keep in mind that women represent one half of Iraqi society, then this half is the half that is in greater need of expressing itself within the framework of the existing political structures (party and parliament). This means that democracy is extant and applied.

Moreover, if we examine the number of laws submitted to the National Assembly's latest session and calculate the percentage of such laws submitted by the women's federation (laws pertaining to women's status, to children, and to social welfare), we would realize the important role performed by the federation to reflect all classes of women with their various professional and cultural affiliations. This action is a form of democracy. This form has materialized as a result of the development Iraq has undergone during the past 20 years of our revolution's life. Add to the above the fact that the women's federation can reach the president of the republic and discuss with him directly problems encountering the federation, that it can take part in the National Assembly debates when laws concerning women's conditions are brought up, that the federation, as the representative of women, and can take any authority to court on whatever pertains to women's rights and whatever pertains to the process of the comprehensive development of society through the interaction of opinions.

Added to this are other democratic dimensions experienced by the Iraqi society. Democracy says that every individual is entitled to education, to work, and to wages commensurate with his work. All this is available in the Iraqi experience, as you are well aware.

If we backtrack to the issue of women and democracy, the Iraqi society guarantees women, in application of the principles of the law, full equality with men and financial independence. It gives a woman the power to preserve her name and her rights.

Children Voice Opposition to Blockade

91AE0129E London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic
19 Nov 90 pp 43-44

[Article by Hanan Janab: "Iraq's Children in One Voice: We Protest; Milk Is Not a Gun in Order That the United States May Embargo"]

[Text] Childhood does not understand the language of grownups. It does not understand the presence of aircraft carriers and of the multinational force that denies them milk and food. Children understand one thing, namely that their demands have to be met and that "daddy" must inevitably bring the milk with him. It is a major problem, grownups.

Thus, in spontaneous gatherings and processions, thousands of Iraq's children and school students have protested the international silence toward the severe U.S.-created shortage of milk and of medical supplies. This act is unprecedented in international history and it is a violation of the UN charters concerning man's right to live in good health.

No to starvation, no to the blockade. Children of the world, stand with us. No to war, yes to peace. The economic blockade violates international childhood rights. These and tens of other slogans were raised by the children's tender hands on the eve of the start of the new scholastic year.

Message of Denunciation

In one of their gatherings and demonstrations, the participating children addressed messages of denunciation to President Bush and to the British prime minister, both of whom made Security Council resolution 665 which gives the United States the right to impose an inhuman blockade. They demanded that the two withdraw their invading forces from the Arab Gulf.

As for mailboxes, they have been filled with hundreds of colored cards expressing denunciation and protest and sent by the children under their own names and with their own addresses.

UNICEF's Responsibility

In a related development, Iraq's children appealed to the UNICEF during convocation of the international summit on childhood when leaders and presidents of the various world countries met in New York to examine the conditions of millions of the world's children who are exposed to death, perdition, and malnutrition.

Iraqi President Saddam Husayn addressed to the conference a message which was distributed in Arabic and English and was viewed as one of the conference documents. In the message, he emphasized his regret that the conference has come at a time when the major powers dominating the Security Council are engaged in a brutal campaign against Iraq's children to deny them milk and food under the pretext of the imposed blockade. The president also emphasized that these powers and their supporters have resorted to the use of food as a weapon against an entire people, including children and mothers, and that this act is unprecedented in modern history.

Sahar Abu-Qa'ud, a Jordanian woman from the Bani-Hamidah tribes, has expressed her readiness and the readiness of the women of her tribes to go to Iraq to

nurse its infants. Blood has stirred in the veins of other Arab women, thus reflecting the single destiny that unites the sons of the single Arab people in Jordan and Iraq. These women have moved to foil the economic blockade imposed on Iraq's children. The children of the fraternal Jordan have sent shipments of food supplies and baby milk.

This is the tale of a difficult time when the major powers have established a law that has nothing to do with the logic of culture and civilization. What is more difficult is that some Arab officials emphasize that this law must be made a rule of conduct capable of upturning the political balances and changing the course of developments in the Gulf.

Perhaps those who have had the opportunity to see thousands of innocent children holding up empty milk cans can confirm that the heads of some Arab officials will roll. These are the officials who have supported the U.S.-British "law of the jungle" and who have approved of, lauded, and demanded that Iraq's children be denied milk to bring about a political change in the course of affairs instead of relying on the logic of constructive and purposeful dialogue and instead of supporting a brother in time of hardship, which is the slogan of the Iraqis who worked for years and years for Egypt's Arabism and in order that Egypt may return to the Arab ranks and who sacrificed tens of thousands of their young men for the Arabism of the Gulf and so that the Gulf oil may continue to flow, (thus enabling the Gulf Arabs to fatten their accounts in western banks).

These children do not at all understand how the Gulf Arabs can have assets of more than \$350 billion in western banks, how thousands of Egyptian families live near corpses in graveyards, and how hundreds of Somali and Sudanese people starve to death while the West takes advantage of the assets of the oil Arabs!

Relations With Turkey Reviewed

91ES0209B Istanbul *TERCUMAN in Turkish*
11 Nov 90 p 8

[Article by Mukbil Ozyoruk: "We Have Two Problems With Iraq"]

[Text] Watching the occupation of Kuwait in its fourth month, it seems as if the idea of a military operation against Saddam were something brand new. One cannot help but ask oneself: What do you think was the purpose of the military buildup in the Gulf in the first place? Wasn't it to pry Saddam out of Kuwait with bayonets if necessary? Hasn't it become necessary yet?

Saddam certainly has not omitted anything he could do to help the Kuwait problem degenerate. There are hired penpushers in many countries who are feeding Saddam. They are saying that a military intervention in the Gulf will turn into a world war.

It is possible that a war of the type that could be called a world war, as we and everyone else knows, could happen if the world is divided in two and is set at each other's throat. Is there any country that supports Saddam today that would be able to take this matter forward by actually taking a position at his side in the event of a military intervention?

But this much is certain, even if there were no possibility or likelihood of its ever turning into a world war, any military intervention delayed more than necessary will find only ever-weakening emotional support in many countries.

He must not turn the Kuwait problem into an Italian-Ethiopian war of 1936. The inability of the free world to impose "sanctions" against Italy, the invader and attacker in that war, brought the downfall of the League of Nations. And it should surprise no one if the failure to get Saddam out of Kuwait spells the end of the United Nations.

For Turkey, while the occupation by force of an independent country like Kuwait is a problem to be denounced with contempt from the standpoint of the ideal of freedom, ousting a dictator like Saddam in the state of Iraq is a question of the security and peace of our southeast from the standpoint of our national policy. If this bully manages to keep the Iraqi people's attention focused outside of Iraq by constantly creating imaginary foreign threats, and manages to hold on to his position in this way, his remaining at Iraq's helm, even if Kuwait is rescued from occupation, will continue to be an endless source of trouble for Turkey and may even lead to a local armed clash some day. There is a "water problem" which he constantly throws up to Turkey, and there are openly hostile acts against Turkey in permitting terrorist camps (and actually organizing them). How much longer can these continue?

If Saddam cannot be ousted now by the free world, toppling him some way may be a job that could fall only to Turkey. Turkey cannot "coexist with Saddam" for many more years.

Our second problem is the al-Mawasil and Kirkuk problem left over from the National Pact [of 1920].

Certainly our state leaders do not have the possibility to talk as freely as we do on this. Being within the framework of their responsibilities and in a position to conduct long-term foreign policy, without doubt precludes them from the possibility of expressing the true thoughts and feelings of simple Turkish citizens like us. But let us not forget that from the standpoint of our national boundaries, drawn by the National Pact, al-Mawasil and Kirkuk are not different from the Iskenderun-Antakya, i.e., Hatay, problem.

It was the great Ataturk who expounded the principle of "peace at home, peace in the world." But it was also

Ataturk who showed that this principle did not mean voluntarily changing our borders that were drawn by the National Pact.

Why did we want and get Hatay?...Because it was within the National Pact borders. Why did we fight so hard, even to the point of jeopardizing the peace, for Mawsil and Kirkuk at Lausanne? Wasn't this also because of the National Pact?

If Ataturk had been alive, wouldn't al-Mawsil and Kirkuk have been taken up after Hatay? Who can answer "no" to this, and if anyone can, what rationale can they offer?

I don't know what the Turkish president would say or what the Turkish government would say today, but I, as a Turkish citizen, cannot agree that the Kirkuk-al-Mawsil problem, a National Pact problem, should be left up in the air while the Hatay problem, also a National Pact problem, was resolved.

Let's not equate the al-Mawsil-Kirkuk problem with the Dodecanese problem, for which the proposal submitted to Turkey at the end of World War II was rejected by our side. The Dodecanese were not included in the National Pact.

Al-Mawsil and Kirkuk, however, are among the principles of the National Pact.

Editorial Critical of Jewish Culture

91AE0129C Kuwait *AL-NIDA'* in Arabic 4 Nov 90 p 7

[Editorial: "'Jewish' Culture Lie"]

[Text] Some Zionist writings, and some Arab writings that follow their course, speak of the "Jewish culture." This phrase, like other phrases, such as the "Jewish heritage, Jewish history, Jewish race," and "Jewish identity," presumes the presence of a "Jewish" creativity that is independent of the creativity of the nations among whom the Jews live. This is a presumption refuted by the historical facts.

Since their emergence in history, the Jews have adopted the culture of other nations, beginning with language and religious concepts and ending with architectural style. For example, there is no independent Jewish architectural style or independent Jewish art. Solomon's Temple was built in the Assyrian-Pharonic style; Jewish synagogues in the Arab homeland follow the Arab style. In the 19th century southern United States, they were built in the neoclassical style. Modern "Jewish" impressionist artists, such as Mark Chagall, belong to a western art legacy and cannot be seen within the framework of an independent Jewish legacy.

Independent Jewish literary legacy is an unknown thing. Arabized Jewish men of letters in the pre-Islamic and Islamic eras adopted the traditions prevalent in their times. The same applies to Jewish men of letters in the United States and Britain. Their literary creativity is tied

to the legacy to which they belong. This is normal and expected. What is more, the Jewish religious tradition itself is not, under any circumstances, independent of the religious legacy and of the religious traditions and concepts prevalent in the ancient Near East, especially in Mesopotamia. Moreover, this tradition cannot be separated from the religious unification upheavals in Egypt and from the worship of Jehovah in Sinai. Perhaps the development of Judaism from the semipagan worship of (Yisra'el), which has no concept of the hereafter and of punishment and reward, to the Judaism that is considered a complete model of unification is the biggest proof of the influence of the Egyptian, Babylonian, and Assyrian cultures, and later of the Persian and Hellenic cultures, on the Jewish religious beliefs.

Moreover, numerous aspects of the general epistles of the Old Testament, including glorification of the one God who cannot be seen, the 10 commandments, the general spirit of the Hebrew prophets, the parables, and the psalms, have been incorporated into the Christian religious legacy. As for the Talmudic legacy and the immense interpretation volumes, they have been practically unknown to ordinary Jews. These books, or at least the visions they embodied, have influenced the Jewish behavior only partially and this influence has in no way matched the influence of the cultural legacy of the country with which Jews react, through which they create, and in whose framework they revolve, comprehending the universe as a whole from within this country.

Arthur Koestler, a British Jewish author, says that what is known as the "Jewish legacy" or the Jewish culture is something that is not easy to define because all that emanates from members of the world's Jewish minorities is not Jewish in the precise sense of the word and is not part of an existing legacy. The philosophical, scientific, and artistic accomplishments of extraordinary Jews depend on the given facts of the other peoples' cultures and civilizations and do not represent a general cultural gift or a major accomplishment independent of the legacy.

"Jews' Languages"

Perhaps the most important vessel of any cultural legacy is language. It is well known that the Jews used Hebrew for only a very brief period. The language of the forefathers—Isaac, Abraham, and Jacob—was a Semitic dialect close to Arabic or Aramaic [Syriac]. Hebrew was one of the Canaanite dialects and the Jews did not adopt it until they settled in Canaan [Palestine]. It seems that this language disappeared as a language of communication among the Jews during the Babylonian exile.

Since spreading in the world, the language Jews have used to communicate with the wealthy has, in most cases, been the language of the country in which they have settled and to which they have belonged or one of the prevalent international languages. The Jews of Babylon communicated in Aramaic, the language of

international trade and administration in the ancient Near East. In the Hellenic age, Alexandria's Jews spoke Greek. After the breakup of the Roman Empire, the Jews of the eastern empire spoke the language of this empire, i.e., Greek, and the Jews of the western empire, of Africa, and of Western Europe spoke Latin. In the Arab homeland, the Jews used Arabic. At times, members of the Jewish minorities used for communication with each other lingoes consisting of the native language with a few Hebrew words and phrases mixed with it. Andalusia's Jews, for example, used a lingo which was called Hebrew Arabic. Spain's Jews used a lingo called Ladino. Europe's Jews used Yiddish, which at a later phase became a semi-independent spoken and written language. Members of the Jewish minorities often use the Hebrew alphabet to write down their daily transactions, such as commercial bills or other secular affairs. Nobody from these Jewish minorities has written any noteworthy literary work in these lingoes, whether in the middle ages or in the modern age. Yiddish might be excluded in this regard. Because it survived long and became an independent language spoken by the majority of the western world's Jews in the 19th century, popular literary works for women and for common people were written in this language initially. But then a number of literary works, some rising to the level of serious works, were written in Yiddish. But this period lasted a very short time because of the disappearance of Yiddish.

With the onset of the modern age and with the Jews' exodus from the ghetto, with their modernization, and with the end of their prominence in public jobs, these lingoes began to vanish, especially since the modern state demanded that the minorities' members show complete national belonging to their countries. Yiddish in particular was subjected to a fierce onslaught, especially since Jewish merchants used this lingo which made it easier for them to cheat others. The general linguistic picture concerning the members of the world's Jewish minorities continues to show that, insofar as communication and the language of daily transactions is concerned, these members use fundamentally the motherland's language.

Writing Language

As for the language of religious writings, we find that the Old Testament is written in ancient Hebrew which vanished as a living language after the Babylonian exile. This is why we find that the language of the Talmud is Aramaic. However, Hebrew continued to be the language of religious writing at most, but not all, times. Hillel and Shammai wrote their books in Hebrew whereas Alexandria's Jewish intellectuals in the Hellenic age wrote their books in Greek. Musa Ibn-Maymun wrote in Arabic, Rashi wrote in Hebrew, and the cabala theosophist literature was written in Aramaic.

This condition continued until the 19th century when Jewish intellectuals began to write their religious books in the language of their motherlands. Moses Mendelsohn

wrote in German, and so did Martin Buber and all reformist Jews. Many U.S. Jewish intellectuals now write their books in English.

As for books beyond the scope of religious thought, such as literary, philosophical, and scientific books written by Jewish authors—a scarcity until the 19th century—their language was from the beginning the language of the motherland. Philo of Alexandria wrote his books in Greek, Musa Ibn-Maymun used Arabic, and so did most of the Jewish poets in Andalusia. No noteworthy Jewish authors emerged in the west in the middle ages. This condition continued until Spinoza (who broke away from Judaism) emerged in the 19th century. Spinoza, like other western writers in his era, wrote in Latin. It is needless to note that secular, nonreligious writings by members of the Jewish minorities are all written at present in the language of the motherland. Ya'qub Sannu', an Egyptian Jewish writer, used Arabic. (Haine) Marx wrote in German, Proust wrote in French, Disraeli and Saul Bellow in English. Herzl did not know either Hebrew or its alphabet. In the first Zionist congress, he tried to delight some Orthodox rabbis and so he uttered a few Hebrew words which had been written for him in Latin. But he later wrote in his memoirs an observation which said that this caused him more trouble that exceeded all his troubles in preparing for the congress. Herzl, (Nordo), and numerous early Zionist intellectuals did not believe in the presence of the so-called "Jewish culture." Herzl ridiculed this concept loudly when it was projected at one of the congresses for the first time. Herzl did not even imagine that Hebrew would be the language of his proposed national homeland. He thought that every Jewish settler would speak his own language.

In the first years of settlement, the so-called language war erupted between the advocates of the use of German (followers of the German colonialism) and the advocates of Hebrew (East European Jews who supported the British colonialism).

Despite all this, Zionism moves on the basis of the concept of the independent "Jewish culture." It even makes this concept one of its fundamental mainstays, especially since Zionism's ranks were joined by East European Jews promoting the Zionist culture and advocating Judaism as an (ethnic) identity primarily—an identity which has its independent cultural legacy, its independent cultural personality, and its independent language (Hebrew). They were opposed in this regard by three Jewish tendencies:

1. Religious Jews who believe that Judaism is not just a cultural legacy but religious belonging and that Hebrew is a sacred tongue (*lashon Haqodesh*) that may not be used in daily life or in secular affairs.
2. Unitarian [*indimajiyun*] Jews, concentrated fundamentally in France, Britain, Germany; i.e., West Europe and in the United States, who believed that Jews gained their cultural identity from the various national cultures

to which they were connected. Most of these Jews excluded all national symbols and Hebrew phrases even from Jewish prayers.

3. Yiddishists or advocates of the Yiddish culture who were concentrated in East Europe which included the majority of the world's Jews at the time (Russia and Poland fundamentally). This tendency's advocates believe that East Europe's Jews constitute a minority with an independent national cultural identity. Generally this identity is not Jewish but an East European identity that speaks, thinks, and writes in Yiddish and that has no connection with Hebrew. The (Bond) Party, which was the biggest socialist organization in Europe in the late 19th century and which included the members of East Europe's Jewish working class, was one of the most significant defendants of the Yiddish culture.

Under Imaginary Banner

The Zionist settlement of Palestine was carried out under the banner of the western imperialism and of the imaginary international Judaeo-Hebraic culture. The early settlers refused to be called "Jews" and considered themselves Hebrews who were seeking to establish a "Hebraic state" that severs its connection with the Jewish culture completely. This state of affairs continued until the mid-1930's when the phrase "Jewish state" was embraced as a result of its obvious mobilizational potentials. But since the establishment of the state, the Jewish culture issue has continued to pursue the Zionists inside and outside the "Zionist homeland." Every Zionist immigrant settling in Palestine brings with him the true culture which he was taught and with which he was raised in his native homeland. Thus, "Israel" has turned into an arena for conflict between these various cultures. This condition worsened sharply when large numbers of Falasha Jews arrived in the country from Ethiopia recently. The Falasha speak Amharic (the language of the majority of Ethiopia's population) and perform their prayers in al-Ja'iziyah (the language of the Coptic Church in Ethiopia). An "Israeli" paper notes that an Israeli radio commentator asked one of these immigrants about the language which he speaks and of which, it seems, the commentator had not at all heard. So, the commentator had the immigrant repeat the answer three times before he could comprehend the word "Amharic." He then asked the immigrant to explain to him the meaning of the word!

But the greater conflict is the conflict going on between the culture of the state founders—the Ashkenazim—on the one hand, and the culture of the (Ladino-speaking) Sephardi Jews and Arabized Jews on the other hand. The predominant culture among the "Zionist settlers" is the Ashkenazi culture which has impressed "Israel's" cultural institutions with its stamp whereas the Sephardi culture has been excluded as much as possible. School books mention nothing about the accomplishments of the Arabized Jews within the "Israeli" cultural structure or about the Sephardic Jews' contributions within the makeup of the Mediterranean Sea generally. Even

though the Sephardi and Arabized Jews constitute at present one half the population of the Zionist gathering, the general tendency continues to be western-oriented Ashkenazi tendency.

Some researchers studying the Zionist settlers see that a distinguished "new culture" is emerging there, that its vessel is the new Hebrew language, that this culture surpasses the old divisions and oversteps the various cultures the immigrants have brought with them. They also believe that even though this culture is still in the formation phase, considering that the cultural disagreements and divisions are still obvious, it can be acknowledged that this culture may, from a theoretical and logical standpoint, develop clearcut features with the passage of time. Yet, we can add the following reservations:

1. This new culture—the culture of the "sabrah"; i.e., the culture of the Israelis born in Palestine—will have an obvious Ashkenazi character by virtue of exclusion of the Sephardim (and the Arabized Jews) from the decision-making institutions, because "Israel's" self-image is an Ashkenazi image, because the media are managed by Ashkenazim who view the world with Ashkenazi eyes, and because the early forms of this culture were molded in the absence of the Sephardim and of the Arabized Jews.

2. When the various forms of this culture are completely shaped, there will be no "Jewish culture" but rather an "Israeli culture" that reflects the experience of the Zionist settlers in Palestine. This culture will not have a strong connection with the cultures of members of the minorities because these will remain within their various cultural structures, interacting with these structures, influencing them, and being influenced by them. It is well known that the "sabrah" generation does not harbor much respect and friendship for the members of the minorities who are characterized by the Zionist literature as sick, marginal, and submissive characters that can accept exile as a final condition. This has motivated George Friedman, a French Jewish sociologist, to call the "Israelis" zealots who speak Hebrew, meaning that their positions and visions do not differ much from those of non-Jews except in terms of linguistic vessel.

3. But problems have begun to engulf even this linguistic vessel; i.e., Hebrew, which has always been tied religiously to the members of the minorities and tied to all aspects of the activities of the settlers' life. Antun Shamas, an Arab citizen of Israel, has written a novel called "Arabesque" in Hebrew. The novel has been praised by Ya'el Lotan, an Israeli critic. Yehoshu'a, an Israeli novelist, has been impressed by the novel and has likened its author to Nabokov, a Russian novelist who writes in English. It seems that the novel, in its capacity as a good work of art, will impose itself on the Hebrew literature. But its author is a Palestinian Arab and a non-Jew; i.e. a person who does not carry the burden of the Jewish awareness and who is not a member of the

Jewish tribe, as Lotan has said. This means that Hebrew itself, as a Jewish vessel, has been broken by this Arab novelist.

ISRAEL

Druze Attitudes Toward Israel Discussed

91AE0082A Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew
30 Sep 90 p 7

[Article by Avner Regev]

[Text] The failure of Israel's governments to relate to internal existential problems is now being demonstrated once again in the context of the case of the Druze community, where the leaders of the Druze councils have decided to strike and to protest the failure to implement decisions with regard to equality between the Druze and the Jews.

In an emergency conference in the village of Bayt Jann, the heads of the settlements decided that if the planned demonstration does not produce real results, they will proceed with a general strike with no time limitation.

After three years of paralysis, the committee of director generals was convened approximately two weeks ago, headed by the director general of the Prime Minister's Office. [This committee] is responsible for the care of the Druze community. The cause for the meeting was the fact that Minister David Magen assumed a position of responsibility for the issue of minorities. This committee was established in the 1970's, after the adoption of the cabinet's decision that the Druze be treated like all of the citizens of Israel.

The role of the committee was defined as coordination of the activities of the various ministries. This committee, which acts by virtue of and under the authority of cabinet decisionmaking, must report to the full cabinet and is not subordinate to any one minister. The last time the committee met was in 1987, when Minister Moshe Arens, then responsible for the issue of minorities, set forth recommendations for taking care of the Druze issue.

In the meeting that took place two weeks ago, Minister David Magen issued a document in which he determined that there was room for a special budget totalling 8.75 million shekels for special projects for the advancement of the Druze. Prior to taking the position, Magen demanded that the prime minister support the grant of a special budget for care of the Druze, and this document is a declaration of his intentions. In the document, a demand is expressed to allocate 3 million shekels to supplement the regular budget of the Druze authorities, 2 million shekels for the development of industry, 3 million shekels for education and welfare services, and another 750 thousand shekels in unique funds. Thus, Magen believes, that the weight for opening relations tilts more toward the Druze.

The community, which in the 42 years of the state's existence has demonstrated almost absolute loyalty, lives with a sense of deprivation and discrimination. Sometimes, the feeling even arises that, because of political pressures, certain benefits are granted to the Arab sector that are not granted to the Druze, who serve in the military and in the various defense forces thereby demonstrating their affiliation to the state. These feelings cause a certain erosion in terms of relations between the Druze and the state.

It must be emphasized that, in terms of the background of the positions of the Arabs of Israel and their vocal support of Iraq and of President Saddam Husayn, the silence of the Druze is conspicuous. Hence, they express their support for Israel and the position of the United States in the Gulf crisis.

A few years ago, the heads of the local Druze councils established an action committee that dealt only in municipal issues; therefore, it received some type of recognition from the establishment, in prominent contrast to the lack of recognition of the committee of the heads of the Arab councils. Heading the committee until approximately one year ago was Dr. Hamad Sa'ab, a doctor who served as the head of the local council of Abu Senan and was close to the Likud. Internal conflicts in the community on the background of Labor—Likud and Carmel—Galilee caused shocks in the committee, putting at its head at this juncture, Yusuf Qablan, a self-employed attorney who also serves as the head of the Bayt Jann council. Qablan once stated that he does not recognize Minister Olmert as representative of the Druze, and he now presents this position by his reference to David Magen.

As chairman of the committee, Qablan demands the implementation of the government resolutions that were adopted in April 1987 with regard to equal rights between the Druze and the Jews and threatens that if this is not done, the Druze committee will join the committee of the heads of the Arab councils. It is true that this is not the first time that this threat has been raised, but it is worthwhile to pay attention to this now in light of what is occurring in the community.

In the meeting of the committee of director generals, a "proposal for policy toward the Druze sector in Israel" was set forth, formulated last year in the National Defense College. This proposal brings forth data that explain better than anything else the reasons for the bitterness in the Druze community. These reasons focus on four domains:

The feeling of deprivation deriving from the fact that members of the community fulfill their obligations to the state and do not receive full rights [is coupled with] the feeling that the Arab youth who does not serve in the IDF [Israel Defense Forces] does not attain greater personal achievement in the state.

The fact remains that 42 percent of the members of the Druze community do not complete high school, while

less than a quarter of those who complete grammar school take the matriculation exams, and from this number only approximately one half of those tested succeed. For example, in the years 1977-1987, only 40 percent of the pupils in the seventh through the ninth grades in the village of 'Osafiya successfully completed the examinations in English and in mathematics; in 1989, only 33 percent of the pupils in seventh grade successfully passed the English examination. This is also one of the reasons for the dearth of Druze students in the universities in Israel.

The severe employment situation represents another factor, while an unemployed minority supports itself from agriculture—9 percent in 1987 in contrast with 90 percent in 1950. Industry is not developed and, due to the lack of higher education, many prefer service in the defense forces. Out of 2,300 senior position holders in the state, there are only seven Druze; of these, only three serve in designated positions and the other four serve as ministerial assistants. The IDF is the only place where the Druze feel openness and equality. Today, there is one Druze brigadier-general, 12 colonels (eight in the professional army corps and four in the reserves), and 30 lieutenant-colonels (22 in the professional army corps and eight in the reserves). After their release, the Druze feel deprivation in matters of housing and employment.

The fact remains that Druze villages do not receive preference over the Muslim and Christian villages with regard to land arrangements, electricity, water, roads, etc. The level of services is low, and all declarations supporting equality increase the feeling of doubt and deprivation.

These data serve as clear testimony that the decisions of the director-generals committee of 1987, which accepted Minister Moshe Arens' plan approved by the cabinet, have not yet been executed. To date, the Ministries of Interior, Labor and Welfare, and Finance have not attended to the advancement of the goals of the program, which has remained essentially declaratory. The Civil Service Commission also has not acted toward the incorporation of the Druze in the state service; apart from grading in the Foreign Ministry, nothing has been done.

The governments of Israel are causing a gnawing of the support of the Druze for the state. Failure to prefer the Druze over other minorities causes frustration and disappointment. The government must implement its decisions, in order to dull the feelings of deprivation and discrimination and to prevent the exacerbation of relations between the Druze and the Jews.

Hamas Movement Profiled

TA1612172A Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew
16 Dec 90 p 4

[Text] The charter of Hamas—Arabic initials for Islamic Opposition Movement—begins with the words "Judgment Day will not come until the Muslims fight with and

kill the Jews...and, even if a Jew hides behind a rock or a tree, the tree or rock will say 'O servant of Allah, there is a Jew behind us, come and kill him.'"

Hamas, a new faction of the extremist religious organization, the "Muslim Brotherhood," developed in the cities of the Gaza Strip many years before the uprising. The heads organized thousands of frustrated youths that call themselves "the generation of the occupation"—those born since the Six-Day War. The leaders preached for a solution through holy war without compromises, in order to "fly the flag of Allah on every square centimeter of the land of Palestine, from the river to the sea."

After the consolidation of the movement, on the eve of the intifadah, Shaykh Ahmad Yasin of Gaza, a small and crippled man from among those released in the Ahmad Jibril deal, was transformed into its unchallenged leader—because of his knowledge of the secrets of the Koran, Islamic law, and all the other commandments of Islam, written and oral.

This leader, who worked freely in his home/command post in Gaza, was arrested a few months ago by security forces. Today, his disciples assert that they are shakers of the intifadah, with the assistance of the "generation of the occupation." It is Hamas that was responsible for the "human masses" in the streets of Gaza in December 1987, within the framework of what was called "opposition to the occupation." After a time, this date was fixed as the beginning of the intifadah.

Since then, the movement has gathered great strength. In many cases, it has led the struggle and even dictated the pace of events. It has also penetrated into the West Bank, considered the fortress of the PLO. The movement completely rejects the political approach of the PLO that preaches the establishment of a secular-democratic state. The conflicts with the PLO grew after the latter recognized Security Council resolutions 242 and 338.

The movement intends to export the intifadah to all Islamic states. The goal is to reestablish the Islamic state from the days of the prophet Muhammad "whose constitution is the Koran and whose borders are from Morocco in the west, to Pakistan in the east."

Hamas believes that today, it is the strongest faction in the territories and among the Palestinians in the Jordanian camps, stronger than all the factions of the PLO. It is not prepared to participate in the leadership of the intifadah in the territories and it has established an organizational structure of its own to carry on the struggle. It promises that there will never be political negotiations with the occupier.

Recently, the leaders of Hamas noted that stones alone will not liberate Palestine. They do not rule out the use of all weapons and it does not matter which Jews are victims, soldiers or civilians.

Ze'ev Begin Analyzes 'Palestinian Identity'

91AE0093A Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew
1 Nov 90 p 10

[Article by Ze'ev B. Begin]

[Text] This country is ours. "Good, fine," my friend presses the argument, "but doesn't our demand for implementing the right of the Jews to Samaria, Judea, and the Gaza Strip wrong the Arab inhabitants? After all, we don't recognize their right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent state. Is that fair?" "Yes, it is fair," I reply, "we are not wronging them because the Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip have no right to self-determination. "What," my amazed friend compliments me, "a person like you really thinks that way?" My response: "Yes, really," and now I'll explain my position to you as an Israeli Jew, on whose birth certificate can be found the words "Palestina—Eretz Israel."

In order for a group of people to be considered a nation with the right to self-determination, it must be separated from other groups to an extent that will justify its aloofness from them. In the Land of Israel, on both sides of Jordan, within the boundaries of mandatory Palestina-Palestine-Falastin, reside two such groups: the Arabs and the Jews. Palestinian Arabs on both sides of Jordan are nothing more than a part of the Arab nation, even according to the first paragraph in the PLO's Palestinian Charter. Among all the nations of the world, this nation has won the fullest expression of its right to self-determination, in 20 independent Arab countries, since 99 percent of the Arab nation live in sovereign Arab states.

The Saudi Arabian ambassador to the United States, in an open letter to King Husayn a few weeks ago, mocked the validity of the imperialist borders of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, but perhaps did not realize that such disdain cannot be one-sided. No reasonable person could seriously claim that the difference between Arabs of the state of the tribe of Sa'ud called "Saudi Arabia" and Arabs of the state of tribes called the "United Arab Emirates" is any greater than the difference between inhabitants of the states of North and South Carolina in the United States. "But," said my interlocutor, a stubborn Jew, "even despite that, might it not be that the Arabs from the Land of Israel, that is, the Arabs of Falastin, differ in their leaders, in their language, in their religion, from their Arab brothers in Syria, in Iraq and in Saudi Arabia?" "Fine," said I, also a stubborn Jew, "let us assume that is the case."

Let's assume that. We will assume it, even though most would agree that the differences between an Italian from Milan and an Italian from Naples are deeper than the differences between Arabs in Baghdad and Arabs in Amman. But now, after we distinguish this group from the Arab nation for the sake of argument, and as a kind of linguistic exercise call them a "nation," they ask us to go further and from among this "nation" distinguish the

Arabs of Samaria, the Galilee, and the Gaza Strip as a separate "nation." But that artificial distinction must lead, by way of logical analysis, to the far-reaching conclusion that the Arab Palestinian nation is now divided into three separate nations: the Samaria-Judea-Gazan Arab nation in the middle, the trans-Jordanian Arab nation in the east, and the Galilean Arab nation in the west. If the first have the right to self-determination, then the others do, too; in other words, from one we now have three.

Something is thereby confused in the transition from the generous basic assumptions to the strict conclusions, and the result is not simply unreasonable but also ridiculous. For example: The Arab village Barta'a in the Nahal 'Iron region (Wadi 'Ara), is divided by the "Green Line," which is the line of exhaustion from the battles of 1948-1949. If we accept the claim that in the last 25 years a "Palestinian nation" has been formed precisely in the area between the meanderings of the Jordan River and the meanderings of the Green Line, we come to the following conclusion: the inhabitants of Barta'a-East (the "Palestinians") belong to a new nation and are separate from their own kinfolk, the inhabitants of Barta'a West, who, after all, are members of the "Israeli Arab" nation. Or something like that. Confusing? Not just for us.

A few months ago, I was watching a British news journal in which Arab violence in the State of Israel was presented, and I heard the announcer turn to his listeners in bewilderment: "Those stone throwers aren't Palestinians! They are Israeli Arabs!" But had he taken the trouble to ask one of those Arabs about his identity, he would have heard his own self-definition: "I am a Palestinian Arab, a citizen of Israel," and he would be more correct than all the "experts." The children of one family who live in Jenin in Samaria and in Transjordan cannot belong to three different nations. That is nonsense.

"But," my interlocutor persists, "they are fighting us and you are telling them they are not a nation? They are ready to make sacrifices, isn't that enough?" "No," I persist, "that is not sufficient proof, and certainly not in the Middle East." By that reasoning the Middle East would be torn to pieces: One piece for the Arab-Christian-Lebanese lead by Samir Geagea; a sliver for the Arab-Muslim-Shiite-Lebanese of the Amal organization; another sliver for Arabs, for the Arab-Muslim-Shiite Lebanese of Hizballah, and there would be no end to it; you can't even see the end.

In the Land of Israel, in Palestina-Palestine-Falastin, two countries have been established—one Arab and one Jewish. There is no distinct, separate, different group of Arabs deserving, on the basis of the principle of self-determination, of setting up yet another independent Arab state west of the Jordan River. "But, still," my interlocutor persists, "even if there is no justification, maybe it is simply worthwhile for us to allow them to set

up an independent Arab state in Samaria, Judaea, and the Gaza Strip so as to be rid of them and all the trouble they cause us?"

Among the possible answers, we could respond precisely to those partisans of a new partition of western Israel, those who claim that Arab violence against us proves that it is impossible to prevent the establishment of an independent state by a group of people claiming to be a nation. Whoever claims that, needs to explain, in terms of his theory, how he will block the nationalist yearnings of Israeli Arabs, which are particularly energetic all along the meanderings of the Green Line. After realization of the nationalist yearnings of the "Palestinians" in Hevel Binyamin, how will you prevent their spread from the Arabs of Ramallah to the Arabs of Jerusalem? How, immediately after the establishment of an independent Arab state west of the Jordan, will you preserve the peace between Jenin in Samaria and Sakhnin in the Galilee? What system will then prevent a portion of the Arabs of the Galilee from trying to implement, by the force of stones, knives, Molotov cocktails, and TV networks, U.N. General Assembly resolution number 181 of 1947, which gave the Galilee to the Arab state? "Don't exaggerate," my friend scolds me. But the newspaper headlines will testify that I am not exaggerating.

The most horrible of all wars began, still without a shot, in the fall of 1938 with the bloodless dismantling of Czechoslovakia via the Munich agreement in terms of the right of self-determination for the German residents of the Sudeten mountains.

God forbid that we bend to false propaganda and "ethical" pressure, to superficiality and hypocrisy, for if we are not smart enough to learn from that experience, we will not have another one. We have to make every effort to reach agreement with our Arab neighbors on the basis of mutual respect, which is so important for their children and for ours. But we must not give in to the false claim that a precondition for agreement is a recognition of symmetry, as it were, between the rights of the Jewish nation and the Arab nation in Israel. This ethical debate must be conducted with heads held high and with an open heart, on the basis of facts and according to the truth. Because this is our land.

Call for 'Iron Curtain' Between Jews and Arabs

91AE0132B Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 23 Oct 90 p 7

[Article by Tedi Preuss]

[Text] The words of Isaiah "May your gates always be open, day and night, and never be closed" are fine for another era but not for Jerusalem in the days of Shamir, Saddam, and 'Arafat. In our time, in order to prevent incidents like those in the valley the day before yesterday, her gates have to be closed, as the police inspector general decided. The inhabitants of the territories will not be allowed to enter the city until further notice.

The decision is in place, but it is first of all, temporary. Second, it applied only to the capital, not to all Israeli territory. The one and only way to avoid possibilities for murder in advance is to close the entire Green Line. Transit permits? Just as between any normal country and another; i.e., with visas and checkpoints at every entrance and exit. That is not a "prohibition." Poland and Germany are at peace and the populations do not kill each other, but transit is subject to control. What is permissible for Poles and Germans is therefore also permissible for us. Let the Palestinians solve employment problems in the territories by themselves.

Of course, we have to clarify what happened recently on the Temple Mount, in the Gaza Strip, in the valley, and in other places in which Jews and Arabs slit each others' throats. Even if it should be found, for example, that the police were quick to open fire, that COL (RES) 'Afi Fein is not OK and that 'Omar abu Sirhan was sent under orders by Habash or 'Arafat, the reasons and motives for these acts of cruelty are concealed in the very nature of the situation. Two nations in a state of war, one of them supported by 150 million of its brothers across the borders, are constantly in friction. It would be hard for such a situation not to breed violence. The position of being right is entirely on the side of the police and the Shin Bet who constantly remind us that it is impossible to provide a bodyguard for every Jew who goes out for a walk in Jerusalem, and certainly not throughout the territories. In order to prevent mutual acts of terror, a partition has to be placed between the two camps.

Once upon a time, it was written here about "entering the fence." In the anti-Jewish riots of 1936-1939, Charles Orde Wingate and Yitzhaq Sadeh adopted the principle of going beyond the fence—that is, hitting the enemy on the road or even on his bases. Today, since there aren't any fixed bases, we have to take the reverse strategy: to hide behind the fence, which has expanded and spread out, since the days of the "migration." We already did something in that direction. We have set up fences all along the boundaries with our neighboring countries. They have greatly reduced terrorist infiltrations and the killings as well, but we have left cracks for the Palestinians the size of the State of Israel. And this despite the fact that "every youngster hides a knife on his person," as a "security source" told HA'ARETZ the day before yesterday.

The correct strategy means lowering an iron curtain between us and them, not between us and the Syrians or Jordanians. Most of the acts of murder are carried out by residents of the territories, not by the Syrians and others. But it is precisely to the Palestinians that we have opened the door, and they come through in droves. Even 'Abu Sirhan didn't get here from 'Irbid or Quneitra. He got to the valley by bus from 'Ibadiyah, near Bethlehem. Had the gate been locked, the police would not have been forced to increase their forces in the capital, and 'Iris 'Azola'i, 'Eli 'Altritz, and Charlie Shalosh would still be alive. The same is true of the boys Tubul and Qarmani and many others.

This does not mean unilateral withdrawal. The IDF [Israel Defense Forces] will continue to sit at strategic points across the Green Line and hold them. The Jewish settlements must be isolated as much as possible, because the belief that the government will agree to dismantle them is utopia. The settlers will have to bear the responsibility for their settlement of the territories, where the government of Israel encouraged them to go, but with the clear knowledge that they are risking their lives. That is also the reason why they were given extraordinary financial inducements. Their continuing to settle the territories will indeed permit an area of friction that will cost blood, but it will be sixty times less than what we have seen in the days of the broken Green Line.

This will mean a situation of a country and a half for two nations, but its cost in blood will seem like nothing as compared to the price of the days of October 1990.

Real Wages Drop in Arab Sectors

91AE0173B Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew
21 Nov 90 p 11

[Text] Real wages in sectors that employ a relatively large number of Arabs from the territories have dropped in the past decade. The status of those sectors and their attraction to Israeli job seekers have also dropped. This conclusion was reached by Professor Moshe Semyonov, head of the Sociology Department at Tel Aviv University in two recently concluded studies on the employment of residents of the territories inside the Green Line.

The Employment Agency "knows" of 33,000 Arabs from the territories employed in Israel, but in fact their number comes to about 105,000. The great majority of territories residents work in construction and agriculture, and the others in labor-intensive sectors, especially textiles and wood and metal processing, as well as in various services as: cleaners, porters, or waiters.

Professor Semyonov stated that in 1969, two years after the West Bank and Gaza Strip were annexed, construction jobs ranked among the upper half of the income scale, while currently it has sunk to the lower half. Although unskilled workers employed in agriculture, plants, and services ranked in the lower half of the pay scale in 1969, since then their real wages in comparison to other trades dropped to one place before last.

The inability of Arabs from the territories to penetrate white collar sectors is striking not only in management or prestigious scientific branches, but also in office work and sales, i.e., in sectors with an average status.

The absolute majority of Arabs from the territories employed in Israel are men. Arab women, subject to more extreme traditional rules have difficulty moving freely between the two economies and looking for jobs.

Arabs from the territories share common traits with foreign immigrants, though they are not immigrants

(because they cannot move their residence to Israel). They come from a less developed society, they have lower human capital resources than the local society, they belong to an ethnic group with a low status, and they do not receive the same benefits as Israeli workers.

Workers from the territories employed in Israel are younger, less educated, and their income is lower than their Israeli counterparts. Professor Semyonov stressed that these differences did not subside over the years; on the contrary, they became more pronounced.

Arabs from the territories who choose to work in Israel are better educated and their income is higher than Arabs working in the territories. Locals in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank are forced to work in every area, ranging from: physicians, lawyers, and office workers and ending with street cleaners. In Israel, on the other hand, they have to accept to work as water bearers and wood choppers, but their income is considerably higher than what they can get where they live.

The large supply of labor from the territories has a negative impact on technological development in the textile and wood industries, in some metal plants, and in the construction branch, which employ mostly workers from the territories, Professor Semyonov said. The fact that employers can get cheap workers erodes their motivation to make long-term investments in labor-intensive industries for the purpose of technological development, machinery, and promoting productivity. The necessary consequence, he added, is a drop in the productivity of the sectors in question.

Technological Aspects of Soviet Immigration

91AE0123A Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew
8 Nov 90 p 10

[Article by Prof. Y. Branover]

[Text] A year has now passed since the current wave of immigration began, and nearly 150,000 Jews from the U.S.S.R. have already arrived in Israel. The forecast is that the annual number will be around 250,000. It is well-known that the overall number of immigrants is not limited to one million but could, in practice, reach two million or more. The overriding decisive factor for absorption and continuation of the immigration is employment. But about 15,000 engineers and programmers and about 3,000 scientists and a like number of doctors who have immigrated are wandering about in Israel with no hope and growing despair. Reports of that situation have caused families in the U.S.S.R. to return their airline tickets.

The suggestions for solving the problem of physicians or musicians have to be analyzed separately. Here we will concentrate mainly on scientists in the field of the exact sciences and on engineers.

If only a million Jews from the U.S.S.R. immigrate over the next few years, they will include about 500,000

academics. Training those kinds of numbers in Israel will cost about 20 billion dollars. That large an educated proportion of the population does not exist in any country in the world. Clearly the absorption of so many academics constitutes a very unconventional problem.

Among the million immigrants there will be at least 150,000 engineers, programmers and technicians and about 20,000 Ph.D.'s in the sciences, or post-graduate degrees beyond the Ph.D. By comparison it should be noted that there are presently about 50,000 Israeli engineers working in Israel.

There are solutions to the exploitation of this potential. They could bring about not only a flourishing of the Israeli economy but could even move Israel into first place in the world in technology and science. But the absorption will succeed only when the government makes aid available for the absorbers rather than simply promising to help the immigrants.

Overall the number of researchers, engineers, and technical personnel will be at least 170,000. Some of them will have to be retrained in new professions. For example, they may become high school teachers. Some of them will retire early. That will still leave about 100,000.

Our studies indicate that about 40,000 of them could be absorbed in existing plants and institutions (including public ones). Then 10,000 to 20,000 others could, perhaps, be absorbed in national projects, if and when they start implementing them (the two-seas canal, airports, railroads, etc.). The remaining 40,000-50,000 people could be absorbed, in my opinion, only in relatively small high-tech plants like "Scitech" that we set up in Jerusalem, on Har Hahotzvim, about two years ago especially to create a new model for the absorption of scientists and engineers. There were a number of important advantages to the concept which are as follows:

- * Unlike the other solutions, these plants are not limited by the size of Israel since they are aimed at the world market. In Hong Kong they don't have dozens of universities, but there are hundreds of very successful plants.

- * National subsidized jobs and projects constitute a strong inflationary factor. Commercial high-tech plants (on condition that they are successful) retard inflation.

According to the above numbers, about 200 such plants need to be established. The "Scitech" experiment shows that the investment in each senior expert is about 60,000-100,000 dollars. Recently the government has taken positive steps to grant additional incentives for investors, but they have not yet been implemented.

There is a particular difficulty in attracting investments for plants to be based primarily on immigrants from the U.S.S.R. They need training before they can work productively in Israel. This is not a question of professional training. It is well-known that in some technology areas such as materials engineering, metallurgy, inorganic and

physical chemistry, energy, solid and fluid mechanics, and every area of mathematics, the Soviets are second to none. The training they need includes technical languages, English and Hebrew, Western economics, standards, and work methodology in the area of applied research aimed at the free market. Their lack of knowledge and experience in these areas has caused many plants to avoid absorbing immigrants.

In addition, many of the immigrants bring with them inventions and proposals for technology projects. The road leading from an idea, even if it has been checked theoretically, to production and manufacturing of a technological product is long and hard. In order to make worthwhile proposals to investors, the immigrants must first be trained, their inventions checked out, and work programs drawn up. Experience shows that in order to do that, about 30,000 dollars has to be invested for each senior scientist or engineer over the course of one year.

When we talk about 50,000 immigrant experts over the course of five years, the annual budget has to be 300 million dollars to train 10,000 experts a year—overall about a billion and a half dollars for five years.

This financing cannot come from the investors; only the government, the Jewish Agency, and public institutions can and must supply it.

The State of Israel has been given a golden opportunity that will not recur. Reality has allotted us not years but months to get our act together.

Aviation Industry Secures Large Orders in 1990

91AE0132A Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT (Financial Supplement) in Hebrew 22 Oct 90 p 1

[Article by 'Arye 'Egozi]

[Text] The aviation industry has received new orders totalling 890 million dollars for the first eight months of this year, and the plant is thus meeting its annual work plan.

By the end of the year, sources within the aviation industry hope to get about a billion dollars worth of orders, which would bring the firm's total orders to about 3.5 billion dollars. Eighty percent of the orders are for foreign companies and bodies, and within the aviation industry it is hoped that the company's manufacturing rate will continue to increase in the coming years.

The company's management says that it is precisely the huge exports that require particular attention with regard to its development directions. This is because of the dangers inherent in such great dependence on the dollar market, which does not provide proper return under Israeli conditions, given the large manufacturing costs within the local market.

In 1990 the aviation industry will sell products with an overall value of about 1.3 billion dollars. Of the products, 13 percent will be civilian, which is the biggest

worry: "Our goal is to reach a civilian sector of 20 percent, within three to five years," says the General Manager of the aviation industry, Moshe Qart, emphasizing that the process is not simple.

Selling 15 Astra model corporate planes in 1990 is an accomplishment worthy of note, but it does not solve the problem, and the main effort today is to identify new areas of civilian activity in which the aviation industry will be able to expand its sales. The focus is on the areas of space and the vehicle industry, but industry people confess that the task is not easy even though it is vital.

Arabs Advised to Calm Down or Leave

91AE0132C Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew
25 Oct 90 p 19

[Article by Hanan Porat]

[Text] In view of everything that is going on around us, we cannot divorce the concrete step of preventing Arabs in the territories from working within the confines of the Green Line from the overall philosophical issue and from dealing with a longer-term perspective of the Arabs in the territories. I am among those who believe we have not yet crossed the Rubicon and can still build a proper system of relationships between the Jewish and Arab populations. But I have to admit that in view of the fact that the Intifadah has already been raging around us for nearly three years, and in view of the fact that recently it has "moved up into a new phase" and its leaders are now calling clearly and caustically for the murder of Jews in any way possible—in view of all that, there is, in fact, a very serious question mark as to whether there is still hope for Jewish-Arab coexistence in this country.

For me, if, in fact, I should conclude that there is no room for two nations here on this strip of land in the present situation, that would mean that the Arabs would have to go. By saying that, I do not mean putting them on trucks or implementing transfer by decree. It means creating conditions that would accelerate emigration and means of punishment, which, in serious cases, would mean expulsion.

From this point of view, the step of preventing the Arab population from working within the confines of the Green Line—if, in fact, that is not just a passing episode but policy—will, without a doubt, bring about the absorption of immigrants and unemployed Jews on a large scale and the emigration of many of the Arabs, who will be forced to look for employment outside the boundaries of the Land of Israel. Therefore, it seems to me that from the point of view of the Arab population, this step not only has immediate security implications, but also political implications, especially in the demographic area.

As much as it may sound astonishing, the man who expressed this thesis best was none other than Shaykh Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah, the spiritual leader of the pro-Iranian Shiite movement Hizballah, about four

months ago. He explained that, in his opinion, "the Palestinians in the territories would not be forcibly expelled by the Israeli authorities but would emigrate on their own." In his estimation "the mass emigration from the Soviet Union would greatly reduce the employment opportunities of Palestinians in Israel and the territories, and they would have no choice but to seek new places to make their living."

Therefore, what Shaykh Fadlallah sees very penetratingly as an obscure process could acquire a very dramatic dimension in the wake of the decision to stop employing Arabs from the territories within the confines of the Green Line—since we must understand that now there are plenty of workers because of the large immigration and unemployment. It is very possible that within a relatively short time the process of absorbing Jewish workers will be irreversible.

That should turn on red lights, since, in my estimation, it is much more serious from the point of view of the Arab population than any threat it has faced since the outbreak of the intifadah. If the Arabs don't learn to read the handwriting on the wall and draw the proper conclusions with regard to ending the terror and condemning its leadership, they could very well be faced with a reality that, in the final analysis, would bring about the emigration of many of their people.

This, in my opinion, is the most serious long-term significance of the decision to close the Green Line and, therefore, I give it my hearty blessing if, in fact, it is to be fully implemented and not be simply a short-term episode.

LEBANON

'Umar Karami on Reconstruction, Ja'ja' Issue

91AE0194A Beirut AL-SHIRA' in Arabic
3 Dec 90 pp 18-19

[Interview With Cabinet Minister 'Umar Karami by Huda al-Husayni; "Minister 'Umar Karami to AL-SHIRA': Our Problem Is With Ja'ja' Alone and Judiciary Will Judge Between Us; Ja'ja' Crimes Are Numerous and Karami Assassination Dossier Is not Closed; Next Cabinet Will Be Short-Lived Shock; Greater Beirut Will Be Established to Very Last Detail; Militia Warlords Would Obstruct It If They Could; Developing Country Requires Some Sort of Technocrats; What We Have Heard So Far About Aid Is Just Talk; I Prefer That Current Cabinet Appoint Deputies, Else Ministers in Next Cabinet Will Appoint Themselves; We Study and Plan and When Implementation Time Comes, 'Cabinet Flies Away'; I Will Form Committee to Unify Textbook in Two Days; Renewal of Deputies' Term Is Tantamount to Appointment; We Will Revive Election Card"; first three paragraphs are AL-SHIRA' introduction; date, place not given]

[Text] Cabinet Minister 'Umar Karami believes that the current government is better than the next cabinet, with which he finds "numerous faults," and which he believes will be tantamount to a "shock to the public opinion because it will include warlords." He is also opposed to the principle of appointment of deputies by the next cabinet because the ministers will appoint themselves deputies.

Even though the Lebanese will, after establishment of the Greater Beirut, encounter numerous difficulties in developing their country, Minister Karami is confident that the they can rebuild their country if security is established and if the militias are disbanded.

AL-SHIRA' has interviewed Minister 'Umar Karami and has raised numerous political and educational issues with him in this interview.

[Al-Husayni] It is said that you fear the formation of a cabinet in which Samir Ja'ja' will be a minister. Will you join a cabinet in which the [Lebanese] Forces' commander will be a colleague?

[Karami] Fear! Fear, me? You are the first human being to say I am fearful. The truth is that I have not made such statements. There are journalists who arrived at their own conclusions and wrote this.

In fact, the government has not resigned yet, no consultations have been held, and nobody has been designated [to form a new cabinet], in order that we may discuss this matter. Numerous crimes have, of course, been committed in Lebanon, and Ja'ja' has had a hand in them, such as the Tony Franjiah, Rashid Karami, and Danny Sham'un assassinations and the murders committed in Hubayqah's days. Similar problems exist between Ja'ja' and numerous parties. I am not the only one. Frankly, there are accusations. However, the investigation, especially of Rashid Karami's assassination, has produced no results and nobody has been convicted, because those who were in the positions of responsibility at the time, such the president of the republic, the army commander, the intelligence chief, and their followers, were not able to produce any results. It is difficult for the investigation, regardless of how highranking the judge in charge is, to produce any result if the executive agencies in charge, especially the army intelligence agency, do not wish for results to be produced. If evidence is not available in any ordinary crime...investigation is based on the evidence found in a dossier. The examining magistrate, namely Judge Walid Ghamrah, was unable to reach any conclusion, especially since Rashid Karami's assassination is different from all other crimes, because in this crime, the field is limited. It is unreasonable that no thread has been found, and that nobody in the army has been punished. This is unreasonable, because if a needle is lost in a tent, all the troops in such a tent are punished, not to mention a crime committed in an army helicopter. This is why the examining judge has not closed the file.

New circumstances exist now. We have a patriotic army commander whom we trust. We have an intelligence

chief and we have a president of the republic who called in a cabinet session for reopening and reviving the investigation of all of the perpetrated crimes. We are following up on the issue in order to reach a conclusion.

As for the issue of Ja'ja' and others, it is not connected to Rashid Karami but to numerous individuals who will participate in the cabinet. Moreover, there is the al-Ta'if charter to be implemented, and this charter includes a provision which calls for disbanding the militias. This is the fundamental issue. If a cabinet is formed in the reported manner and if it includes everybody, then I will say in advance that such a cabinet will be a shock to the public opinion because the warlords who have destroyed the country will participate in it. We, all of us, want no more fighting, violence, and destruction. The next step will be to disband the militias. But I imagine that the new cabinet will be short-lived because it will accomplish specific objectives. Then a cabinet which can rebuild the country will follow. Rebuilding the country requires some sort of technocrats. Nobody should be involved governmental action, unless it is a sound involvement that leads to positive results. Today, we are in a rebuilding phase which requires able individuals in all fields, so that we may make up for the time we have lost.

[Al-Husayni] There is the principle of reconciliation. What does this mean? To whom will you be reconciled and to whom will you not be reconciled?

[Karami] Fundamentally, we have no hostilities because we belong to the faction that does not believe in violence. This is why we did not form militias even though we had the ability to form the biggest militia in Lebanon. We have constantly advocated coexistence and national unity. Our problems are with Ja'ja' alone, and the judiciary will settle this issue.

Renewal Is a Sort of Appointment

[Al-Husayni] Regarding the principle of deputy appointment, your name is proposed for the seat vacated by the death of Rashid [Karami] and you are also a candidate to nominate the second Sunni deputy from Tripoli. Who do you nominate with you?

[Karami] This is a "highly charged" question. But I am, in truth, opposed to the appointment principle because I believe in freedom and democracy. The Lebanese people have been raised with these principles and it is difficult for us and for the people to accept the appointment principle. The al-Ta'if accord has debated a number of fundamental facts. The current Chamber of Deputies no longer represents the people. Eighteen years are a very long time, and those who were elected have either died or emigrated, and they no longer represent anybody. The renewal principle is tantamount to some sort of appointment. In the past two years, a void has developed and some sects are no longer represented or, if still represented, are represented very narrowly. There are provinces that are not represented at all. In political issues, we cannot guarantee anything. But if the militias are

disbanded, the state will be able to spread its sovereignty and we will be then able to hold general parliamentary elections.

It is unreasonable for the elections to be held according to the previous criteria, i.e. in accordance with the omission lists. Now we will revive the voting card, which requires ceaseless work and effort, because everything in Lebanon is different from what is in the rest of the world. They don't adopt the voting card so that the number of each sect's members may not become known, and so that this may not be used as some sort of census. All these issues require a lot of time, and may last months or years. But it is unreasonable for the representation to stay as it is. Appointment has its major drawbacks. As for Tripoli, the truth is that our presence extends beyond Tripoli to include the north in its entirety—'Akkar, al-Daniyah, and al-Kurah—especially since the new constitution stipulates that future elections will be held on the basis of the governorate. There are no more small districts.

As for names, the truth is that I have no particular name in mind. There are numerous candidates, they are all our friends, and they have excellent capabilities. The selection will be made at the Council of Ministers and, God willing, by the current cabinet. This is better than having them selected by the proposed cabinet, because it will be an enlarged cabinet, and because it will encompass conflicting opinions, especially since the names of most ministers are projected to fill parliamentary seats meaning that the ministers will appoint themselves. This is why I say that the current cabinet is more qualified and more capable of appointing the deputies. We will later tell you "what will be done." But I have not made a decision yet.

Balances Authorities

[Al-Husayni] What is your idea of a balanced executive authority shared by the president of the republic and the cabinet?

[Karami] In fact, the al-Ta'if document is explicit. The president of the republic has his powers and the prime minister has his powers. If each adheres to his powers and deals with a spirit of cooperation for the sake of the public good, then I don't believe that there will be a clash. When the new constitution is first implemented, some conflict in opinions may occur, not out of illwill but out of a misunderstanding of powers. But with sincere cooperation, matters will proceed well. The al-Ta'if charter and the new constitution that is founded on it make matters clear. This is why there is no place for error. There was an incident recently when Prime Minister al-Huss was in New York. The president of the republic summoned the cabinet to meet but al-Huss objected. Legally, I supported President al-Harawi, because in the absence of the prime minister, his deputy takes over. If an emergency develops, it is unreasonable not to convene the cabinet. This is unreasonable. It is true that the matter was not of utmost importance and that it did not call for an emergency meeting. However,

the president of the republic is entitled to summon the cabinet to convene. We do not fanatically support a position. We always support what is right.

[Al-Husayni] Doubts are cast on the Greater Beirut. In your opinion, how serious is this step?

[Karami] I have said previously, and I repeat, that the Greater Beirut issue is a serious issue, and that this step will be implemented. This is acknowledged far and wide, and nobody can oppose this step. If anybody could, then rest assured that the militia warlords would have found a hundred gaps and excuses to obstruct it. The Greater Beirut has begun and, in a few days, you will find that it has been established to its last detail. But we repeat that this is not our entire aspiration. It is a phase, but an important one. It is a fundamental step on the path of spreading legitimate government control over all of Lebanon's territories and of withdrawing weapons, except for legal weapons, from all of Lebanon. I understand your question because all the past experiences have failed, and because the people have endured a lot throughout 17 years and can withstand no more failure. But we assure them that Beirut is "moving forward" now.

[Al-Husayni] What happens after Beirut?

[Karami] Appointing deputies and officials of Greater Beirut, forming a cabinet, and disbanding the militias within four to five months. There remains the problem of the south, towards which attention will be turned. If the south does not relax, Lebanon will not relax. There is another phase of parallel importance, namely the phase of rebuilding the state. We have no state and no administration. How can we build a regime without administration? This is an important point. If we cannot inject new blood and new capabilities into the administration, we will not be able to create an administration with what exists currently. We cannot attract capabilities with current salaries. There is then the army issue. There can be no state without an army. There is also the question of disbanding the militias, a part of which will be incorporated into the army, the security forces, and the gendarmerie. This is in addition to rebuilding the infrastructure. After 16 years of war, the citizen is not interested in seeing us unite the country for him without providing him with water, electricity, sanitation, and other services. This requires a construction workshop, capabilities, immense effort, and the citizens' cooperation with the officials, plus money. Our current position is difficult. All that we have heard so far is "just words," even if our brother Lakhdar Ibrahim gets annoyed with us. We have become like a "doubting Thomas." They have promised us Arab aid. A sum of \$100 million has been delivered by Saudi Arabia, with \$150 million to follow from Kuwait and the UAE. They sent us a letter saying that the Gulf Cooperation Council had decided to aid Lebanon and that the aid would amount to \$100 million, which Saudi Arabia paid sometime ago. In any case, if security is restored, we can stand on our own feet, God willing. This will, of course, delay the reconstruction and

development phase. The Arab countries should not stay so stingy with Lebanon, especially since Lebanon has endured all the battles on their behalf. This is why I say that we are like "doubting Thomas." Since the \$100 million dollar episode, we no longer believe the words we hear until we see with our own eyes. Every time Lakhdar comes or goes, he makes statements about aid. What else could the powerless man say? Those who want to pay have already paid.

Lifespan of Roses

[Al-Husayni] Let us move to the educational aspect.

[Karami] Let us. I am ready.

[Al-Husayni] From your position as minister of education, have you been able to draw up a uniform program for all of Lebanon and, at least, to establish a single history and national education textbook?

[Karami] The problem in Lebanon is that cabinets live as long as roses, i.e. they last for a year and then vanish. For a minister to understand a ministry and plan for it, he needs time. By the time implementation is to begin, the "cabinet has already flown away." A new minister then arrives and the same problem is repeated. I believe that this is a major shackle impeding improvement of the educational condition. In all countries of the world, government is stable. We need at least four to five years to be able to implement it. I have formed committees, conducted studies, and announced in a press conference that we must amend Lebanon's education. This is not an easy task. If it is easy technically and technologically, it is difficult politically. The fundamental problem is more political than educational. As we are aware, there are missionary schools that believe that their task is to carry out the established programs, and that undermining their programs is tantamount to undermining the core of Lebanon's survival. "There is quite an uproar over the ALESCO [Arab Organization for Culture, Education, and Sciences] agreement." The issue is not just one of history and civil education but is an issue of the programs in their entirety.

The president of the republic has said in a televised press conference that the "Ministry of Education oversees the private schools." I say this is untrue. The Ministry of Education has no power to supervise any program in a private school. Today, I can form a committee to unify textbooks and this is what I will do in two days because it is within my powers. But it is my opinion that this will not solve the problem. What will solve the problem is the formulation of a complete national program for education in Lebanon in its entirety—a program that concerns the curricula, the method of instruction, and the Ministry of Education's supervision of all schools on Lebanon's soil, and which brings all these schools under the ministry's control.

Deputy Munif al-Khatib on Southern Issues

91AE0194B London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic
7 Dec 90 p 23

[Interview With Munif al-Khatib, Deputy for Marj'uyun-Hasbayya; "Deputy Munif al-Khatib to AL-HAWADITH: 'Greater' Beirut Paves Way for Liberating South; New Specifications Required for Forthcoming Government;" First Two Paragraphs Are AL-HAWADITH Introduction; Date, Place not Given]

[Text] Munif al-Khatib, the deputy representing Marj'uyun-Hasbayya, always carries the south's concerns on his shoulders to present them to the rest of the homeland. How does Deputy al-Khatib view the southern concern today? How does he view the Greater Beirut step in comparison with the southern concern? And what is the connection between reducing this step and the implementation of resolution 425 in the south?

AL-HAWADITH has interviewed Deputy al-Khatib who has also touched on other issues in the interview which went as follows:

[AL-HAWADITH] The step to establish the Greater Beirut was carried out recently. In your opinion, to what degree can this help put an end to the situation existing in the south, especially in connection with implementing UN Security Council resolution 425?

[Khatib] The Greater Beirut step is the beginning for establishing the state's comprehensive control over all of Lebanon's territories.

This step is a beginning and I believe that it will have its impact on the southern situation, on liberating the south, and on establishing state control over our soil here and, consequently, on implementing the UN resolutions, especially resolution 425.

What confirms this belief is, in my opinion, the Israeli enemy's reaction as expressed by Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Arens during the visit he made recently to Jazzin, which is considered to be outside the border strip, to underline the Israeli presence there and to prevent the legitimate Lebanese army from deploying in the area. Uri Lubrani, the Israeli administrative official in charge of the area, has made similar statements.

This is why I say that this Israeli reaction to the Greater Beirut step is intended to prevent the State of Lebanon from spreading its control over its territories. Consequently, this Israeli reaction has been tantamount to retaliation for the Greater Beirut step because Israel does not want the creation of a strong Lebanese state—a state which will pressure Israel to implement resolution 425 and end its ambitions in Lebanon.

This is why at al-Ta'if meeting, I tied the political reforms with the southern issue and said: The reforms are very important. But what is more important is to liberate the south. If no effective effort is made by the State of Lebanon and the Arab countries, represented in

the Supreme Arab Committee, and if no international movement is made to liberate the south, then all other action will be futile and in vain.

[AL-HAWADITH] The Greater Beirut enjoys nearly complete international and regional cover. The enemy foreign minister's statement in Jazzin is in absolute conflict with this cover. In your opinion, where can the conflict existing between the "international cover" and an Israeli violation of this cover lead?

[Khatib] The Israeli officials' statements reaffirm the Israeli scheme that does not permit the establishment of the State of Lebanon. But international pressure, particularly from the United States which is tied to Israel by special relations, can put a stop to and curtail the Israeli schemes and plans. The issued Israeli statements remind us of what happened when the State of Lebanon dispatched the army to Kawkaba and how Israel stopped the army there. But the United States did not exert pressure at the time to stop the Israeli act. It is my belief that the international position is being put to the test now, especially since this position is what covers establishment of the Greater Beirut with a broad umbrella carried by the Supreme Arab Tripartite Committee. This umbrella, broad as it is, can extend to cover the process of establishing state control in the south and implementing resolution 425.

[AL-HAWADITH] You are a deputy representing the Marj'uyun-Hasbayya border area. You are from Shab'a, and a lot has been said about the Israeli practices in this town. What is the real situation in this area, considering that you follow it closely?

[Khatib] In fact, Shab'a has been in constant conflict with the Israeli enemy, even since times prior to 1948. All of its lands in an area that is more than 20 kilometers long and 3-7 kilometers wide have been stripped away from it. Geographically, this area is similar to the area extending from al-Hazimiyah and B'abda to Sawfar and beyond. The Shab'a area encompasses famous arable lands and water springs. Perhaps this land has been stripped away because of its strategic and political position and because of the vast water store in Mount Hermon, all of which fall within the scope of Israel's strategy and ambitions. This is why Israel resorts to harassing the inhabitants, requires them, for example, to join the South Lebanon Army, to form a civil administration, or to do other things which they reject. This harassment has led the area to a condition under which it has no youth groups because the young have departed from it.

We endure a lot as a consequence of Israel's practices. But this is our fate, of which we are proud even though it is painful. But what is more painful is that the Lebanese and the Arabs are oblivious to this pain.

The south is nowadays the only Arab border opened against Israel. Here, I address this question to everybody: What have you done for this citizen who is enduring on behalf of all the Arabs?

We demand a development, reconstruction, and steadfastness plan for the border strip, not as a reward for this citizen but to make him feel that he still has brothers who stand by him.

[AL-HAWADITH] On 13 October 1990, the former army commander's rebellion against the legitimate government came to an end. Do you think that this step, taken within the context of establishing the Greater Beirut, has restored to the Lebanese army the bond of which the Lebanese have been dreaming?

[Khatib] There is no doubt that what is happening now is an important turning point in creating a national army for all of Lebanon. The splits and movements that have occurred within the Lebanese army since the 1970's have had their negative impact on the army and on the state in its entirety. We look with hope for rebuilding the army of which we, as Lebanese, dream.

Here, we believe that those in charge of this national establishment may not squander it. We hope that they will do what duty and the supreme Lebanese interest requires them to do in order to develop this army. I have great confidence in the elements of our army and I do attest to the truth when I say that our army officers have our trust, especially the army commander who has extremely rare ethics. This gives us great hope that the Lebanese army will be rebuilt as we dream of it, that it will have a combat mentality, and that it will know who the friend and who the enemy is and what the duties are. Therefore, I view the future with hope and with a smile.

[AL-HAWADITH] Recently, you have participated repeatedly in criticizing the government position. Why and what is your vision of what this position should be?

[Khatib] We are in a democratic parliamentary system founded on the separation of powers. As a legislative authority, it is our duty to watch the executive authority, which is embodied in the Council of Ministers, and the ministers who shoulder the responsibility of steering the ship, protecting the institutions, and securing the citizens' interests.

It is from this perspective that I have acted vis-a-vis the government. Despite my esteem for the ministers, I say that the actions and the results are the opposite of what is required and, in most cases, against the people's and the country's interest. My opposition and my demand that the government be brought to account have emanated from this principle.

There are ministers who consider themselves above everybody else and who have acted as they wish. There have been numerous violations and there have been popular accusations. What is a deputy's duty when he sees the country without electricity and the citizen without bread and unable to move from place to place while certain groups of people reap millions and billions of dollars at the expense of the poor by profiteering from

gas, benzine, generators, and even flour? A deputy is required to move against such practices or give up his duty [seat].

[AL-HAWADITH] A very enlarged cabinet in which the militias take part is proposed. What is your opinion of this proposal?

[Khatib] I do not consider the person of the ministers. I believe that the coming phase requires qualities and specifications that must be available in the Council of Ministers which will rule the country. If they are not available, we will accomplish nothing.

When, for example, the cabinet is not subject to or does not permit itself to be subjected to being debated by the Chamber of Deputies, then this means that there is a fundamental flaw in the system.

I believe that the forthcoming cabinet must be the cabinet of all of Lebanon and all the country and not of just "part of the country." One of the most important specifications is the need to abolish monopolization. There are parties which monopolized the government in years past. This monopolization must be eliminated. As we have liberated Beirut from the militias, we must liberate the institutions and the government from the monopolization of these people.

Filling of Parliamentary Seats Discussed

91AE0196A Beirut AL-SHIRA' in Arabic
3 Dec 90 pp 22-23

[Article by Ahmad al-Musawi: "Parliamentary Appointments: Hot Dossier That Provokes Problems; Balance on Edge of Sword in al-Hirmil; Majid Hamadah Supports Elections and Sees Appointment as Lesser Evil; 'Ali Hamad Ja'far: Applying Inheritance Principle Is Unlawful and Unjust; If They Select Me I Will Not Turn It Down; Muflih 'Allu: If They Decide to Appoint Majid Hamadah, We Will Resort to Negativism"]

[Text] In al-Hirmil, there is a battle without the "rattle of words" over who will succeed the late Sabri Bayk Hamadah to the sole parliamentary seat vacated by death in the Ba'labakk-al-Hirmil District.

Plunging into the issue of who succeeds the late Deputy Sabri Bayk Hamadah in al-Hirmil area is very much like walking in that area's barren flats and its plain where taboos are many, where roads are long and rugged, and where hardness is the essence of the struggle for survival and continuity.

In al-Hirmil, there is a silent battle for the vacant parliamentary seat. Openly, everybody avoids the battle so that they may not lose it in a mistaken stance or movement that upsets the balance existing on the edge of the sword held by the area's tribes and clans that have agreed to throw this concern off their shoulders and to

put in the hands of the authorities concerned so that they may select and may shoulder the responsibility of the selection.

Democracy and Emirate

It seems that the principle of appointment by inheritance which may be applied in some provinces or districts is faltering in al-Hirmil area. The person concerned primarily with the fact is Majid Hamadah, an ex-minister and the son of ex-Speaker Sabri Hamadah. Majid has been absent or has been absented from the political action theater for 15 years even though he has followed the minutest details of this action from afar, according to some informed people who know the news of this intellectual who couples his high culture, which is open to the western concepts, especially of democracy, with his oriental behavior in inheriting the emirate [mantle of power].

According to these informed people, Majid Bayk Hamadah's position toward appointment is that this matter is not in the hands of the people concerned and that if he is selected in application of the principle of inheritance, then he will not, of course, turn down the selection. If the appointment criterion is learning and education, then he is the person most entitled to it in his province. But if the criterion is capability, then who is more eligible, considering that he is the son of a political family and that he has expertise and experience polished by the experience he gained in government while serving as cabinet minister.

These people who know his news add that Majid Bayk, who has even refrained from making statements throughout the past 15 years, regrets that the Lebanese people generally cannot select their representatives in the Chamber of Deputies through free parliamentary elections which are the sound means and the correct path for attaining the seats representing the people. But in view of the circumstances being experienced by the country, the principle of appointment is the lesser evil.

The security authority—fundamentally more than missing in al-Hirmil area, especially in its flats, "except for some gusts now and then"—has been absent from the area and this absence has saddled the tribal notables with added responsibilities that grow with the expansion of the tribes and their social and material growth and growth in numbers. The status and leadership of these notables have have been enhanced in the province by virtue of the tribal solidarity to which members of the tribes have resorted to make up for the missing security and to protect themselves first and then their neighbors. Thus, a clan chief or notable has become the sole authority empowered to or capable of settling internal disputes among the members of the same clan or between one clan and other clans or families, as well as settling pending external problems, whether with the existing authority or with the citizens of adjacent and remote areas.

Thus, while the war has worked to demolish the old in every part of Lebanon without creating something new that is fit as a substitute, the situation has been the inverse in al-Hirmil area. After 15 years of war and of its consequences, perhaps the situation in al-Hirmil is less evil. The tribal bond and feelings have been strengthened and they have dictated a return to and abidance by the tribal traditions, tribal customs, and tribal values in hostility, reconciliation, proximity, remoteness, enmity, and peaceability. The tribes have expanded and their influence has grown at the expense of the other social organizations and leaderships. A clan notable has gained various forms of moral and material power, especially since some tribes have been militarized during the war and have been turned into organized armies armed to the teeth.

'Ali Hamad Ja'far is a member of a big clan that is spread throughout the Ba'labakk-al-Hirmil area and that extends to the Syrian borders eastward and northward and al-Qubayyat westward. In view of the power and moral influence he enjoys in his clan and among the other clans and families in al-Hirmil area, numerous authorities agree on nominating him to fill the vacant parliamentary seat so as to retain balanced representation in an area where it would be extremely dangerous to upset the balance existing by virtue of the fait accompli created in the absence of a capable central government and under the canopy of fear of the continued oppression of this area, of leaving it to negligence, and of ignoring its reality.

This is why 'Ali Hamad Ja'far believes that the main concern which preoccupies him at present and which makes him appeal to the people concerned to deal with is the concern of lifting injustice from the innocent by ending the sedition and halting the hateful fighting between the Amal Movement and Hizballah, by putting a final end to the war in Lebanon in its entirety, by making efforts to establish peace and security over all Lebanese territories, by turning toward Syria sincerely, and by dealing faithfully with its political leadership and its army that have sacrificed everything for the sake of Lebanon's survival and continuity and that have repeatedly proven through numerous experiences that they have no ambition in Lebanon other than to see it healthy, united, and liberated from the Israeli occupation.

If this is accomplished, then to 'Ali Hamad Ja'far, everything else is secondary. Regarding the deputyship, he has said: "I am not interested in it and I do not care for it because what I aspire for and what I am doing is much greater, namely lifting injustice from the innocent in the first place, uniting the ranks of the area's population in the second place, establishing peace and cooperation between the citizens in al-Hirmil and the neighboring areas in the third place, and developing the area and working for its prosperity in the fourth place. I am not concerned with who they will appoint and I am fully confident that our authorities in the Shi'ite sect and other sects will not go wrong in their selection."

We asked him: Does this mean that you will reject the deputyship in case you are chosen? 'Ali Hamad Ja'far answered: "I am not seeking this position. But if our authorities, in whom I have trust, select me, then it is to God we shall all return. I will not turn it down, even though I favor holding free parliamentary elections. My selection for the deputyship will not, of course, dissuade or divert me from the major responsibilities I shoulder in serving the area and its inhabitants. I will always be in its service, in the service of the truth, and in the service of all of Lebanon through..."

[AL-SHIRA'] What would your opinion be if they decided to apply the inheritance principle in the appointment issue?

[Ja'far] Applying the inheritance principle, especially in this area, is unlawful. Why should we apply the inheritance principle when we are approaching the creation of a new republic and a new system which we hope will be more just and fair and which will pay greater attention to our area's and our kinsmen's demands. If we applied the inheritance principle, then what benefit would we reap from all the accomplished reforms? Isn't inheritance what has led us to this bad situation in Lebanon? It is not fair to adopt the inheritance principle, even though I am not opposed to assumption of the deputyship by whoever is fit and meets the required, and sound, qualifications, even if the inheritance principle applies to him. But it is unlawful to adopt the inheritance principle as a basis for appointment.

[AL-SHIRA'] What are the required qualifications?

[Ja'far] Capability and ability to unite the word and the ranks.

[AL-SHIRA'] Why don't al-Hirmil tribes and clans meet and contribute to determining the issue?

[Ja'far] We have met and consulted on the matter. A delegation from the circles concerned has met with the Syrian brothers, with the responsible [Lebanese] government authorities, and with House Speaker Husayn al-Husayni, Nabih Birri, and His Eminence Shaykh Shams-al-Din. We have asked all of them not to let our area be denied the right decision and the proper choice.

[AL-SHIRA'] Have you not agreed on a specific name?

[Ja'far] We have not agreed on a specific name in order to avoid sensitivities between the families and clans. We have left the matter up to the decision-making authorities concerned. On my part, "I and those who are with me give our permission" and agree to any person, provided that he is capable, that he can unite the area's word, that he is close to the inhabitants, that he follow their concerns, and that he experience their real situation and not be far from them. Again, I emphasize that the officials concerned—officials whom I trust—will not err and will select the person qualified for the job.

[AL-SHIRA'] Do you expect problems to develop because of the appointment?

[Ja'far] God forbid. Why and over what have conflicts and problems? Such a development is rejected by all and we will not permit it to occur. It will not occur in the first place. We have authorities and people in charge. We trust them and they will make the decision. So why the conflicts?

Mitigated Evil

Muflih 'Allu is another name from another clan in al-Hirmil area. He may have a chance to fill the vacant seat even though he believes that he is distant from it because the balance that is existing on the ground and that has to be taken into consideration in al-Hirmil area dictates the appointment of another person from another clan, namely 'Ali Hamad Ja'far.

Getting to the parliament for Muflih 'Allu, the veteran revolutionary and party man, "is not one of my ambitions and I do not seek it." He explains his viewpoint on the issue of parliamentary appointments in al-Hirmil area as follows: "Historically, there are two tendencies in the area: A progressive change-oriented tendency and a reactionary, conservative, and traditionalist tendency embodied in the political feudalism and in tribal notables who are the natural allies of ignorance and deprivation and who have always been a local instrument in the hands of the privileges system. I consider myself to belong to the first tendency, i.e. the progressive popular tendency. What concerns me is that this progressive change-oriented tendency get to the parliament, and it does not matter whether in my person or through somebody else. What is important is that this tendency be represented and that the more capable person be selected. In this sense and on this basis, I will accept the deputyship if I am selected."

[AL-SHIRA'] You are not opposed to the appointment principle?

['Allu] I consider the entire appointment issue to be evil, but an inevitable evil. I am fundamentally for holding parliamentary elections. But if this is impossible because of the circumstances, then I demand that the appointment principle be moderated by moving it closer, even if only slightly, toward democracy through consultation, at least with the area's notables.

[AL-SHIRA'] What is your opinion of the inheritance principle?

['Allu] I am absolutely opposed to the inheritance principle. It is a plot to torpedo Lebanon's democratic condition and to undermine the liberties and free democratic action. Frankly, a delegation of clan and family notables has met with Speaker al-Husayni, Birri, and Shaykh Shams-al-Din and implored them to oppose the inheritance principle in al-Hirmil area, else negativism will be resorted to if a representative of the political feudalism, Majid Hamadah specifically, is appointed.

The inheritance principle is tantamount to returning to the 1943 charter. This means that if matters proceed in

this manner in the future, there will be a return to the civil war shortly because this mentality is the mentality responsible for the war.

[AL-SHIRA'] What are the appointment criteria you demand?

['Allu] The final word must belong to the Shi'ite authorities in their capacity as the decision-maker. These authorities can conclude from their opinions and the opinions of the area's notables put together the qualifications required for the person most eligible to fill this seat. Such a person must have the minimum of these required qualifications, such as the education needed to deal with legislation and to watch the executive authority. He must not be engaged in a suspicious business, must not have had dealings with the Duxieme Bureau prior to 1975 or with the isolationist forces connected with the Israel after that date, and must have support beyond his tribal bloc so that he may not become a hostage of his tribe.

It is my opinion that if the authorities concerned do not select the right person according to these bases, they will not only deny the people their real representatives but will also put themselves in a position to be denounced. Their representative status and their right to be the authority will thus become doubtful.

[Top box on p 22] Al-Hirmil

To the east, al-Hirmil area is bordered by al-'Asi River section extending from Magharat al-Rahib spring to the border of Hawsh al-Sayyid 'Ali, a part of whose homes is located in Syrian territories and the other part in Lebanese territories. The two parts are separated by a brook.

Westward, al-Hirmil lands stretch to 'Akkar and al-Daniyah Districts in the northern governorate.

Southward, it is bordered by Ba'labakk District.

Northward, it extends to the Syrian borders.

Al-Hirmil District has an area of 550 square kilometers. Most of its lands are forest or rocky lands that are not fit for cultivation. Its population is nearly 180,000 people, including 80,000 in the town of al-Hirmil itself, in the plain, and in the barren flats. Generally, the clans, most significantly the Ja'far clan, Nasir-al-Din clan, the 'Allam clan, the 'Allu clan, the Dandash clan, and the 'Awwad clan, live in the flats.

[Bottom right side box on p 22] Current Deputies

Ba'labakk-al-Hirmil area is a single electoral district represented by 7 deputies. In the last parliamentary election, held in 1972, the winners were: Sabri Hamadah (deceased), Husayn al-Husayni, Subhi Yaghi, and 'Abd-al-Mawla Amhaz on behalf of the Shi'ite sect, Albert Mansur on behalf of the Catholics, Tariq Habashi on behalf of the Maronites, and Hasan al-Rifa'i on behalf of the Sunna.

[Bottom left side box on p 22] Former Deputies

From the time of independence to the latest parliamentary elections, the Ba'labakk-al-Hirmil District was represented by the following deputies:

Ibrahim Haydar, Fadlallah Hamadah, Habib Mutran, Salim Haydar, Shafiq Murtada, Fadlallah Dandash, Nayif al-Misri, Murshid Habashi, Mustafa al-Rifa'i, 'Abdallah Sukkariyah, Muhammad 'Abbas Yaghi, Antoine Malih, Bashir Kayruz, Taqi-al-Din al-Sulh, Muhammad Zu'aytir, and Antoine al-Harawi.

[Box on p 23] Diary

Majid Hamadah, the son of [the late] Speaker Sabri Hamadah and the nephew of ex-Speaker Kamil al-As'ad, is married to Layla, the daughter of ex-Prime Minister Riyad al-Sulh. He has been involved in the political life since his early youth by virtue of his belonging to a house of politics and government. He is known to be a rebel against political tradition.

He served in the cabinet of Prime Minister Rashid al-Sulh as minister of education from 31 October 1974 to 23 May 1975 when that cabinet resigned in the wake of 'Ayn al-Rummanah incident with which the civil war started. He was known at the time for being firm and self-confident in all the decisions he made in connection with his ministry's affairs. He was also known for positions connected with his political thinking or course that was strongly hostile to the existing Lebanese political system which Majid considered to be the cause of every malady and whose alteration and development he advocated.

Hajj 'Ali Hamad Ja'far (Abu-Yasin) was born in al-Hirmil in 1925. He is married and has 5 children. He enjoys strong influence within his clan and among the area's other clans and families. This has enabled him to establish firm relations with all the national Lebanese parties and with the inhabitants of the north by virtue of the distinguished role he plays in entrenching good-neighbor relations.

He is tied to all the Shi'ite authorities by strong relations which are credited to the fact that Ja'far was a companion of Imam Musa al-Sadr as of the start of the imam's procession in Lebanon. Ja'far often accompanied the imam on his visits to the remote areas. Whenever Imam al-Sadr visited al-Hirmil area, he used 'Ali Ja'far's residence as his headquarters where he received popular, clan, and family delegations. Ja'far was also tied by strong relations to the late Prime Minister Rashid Karami and he is tied by strong bonds to the Syrian political leaderships.

Ja'far is known for his humility, hospitality, and love for reform and developmental plans in the area. He has carried the latest such plan in Sahlat al-May area which he has turned from barren land to an area abounding with activities, businesses, and residences after having set up a number of projects in it.

Muflih 'Allu was born in 1942. He is married and has seven children. 'Allu studied philosophy and sociology at the Arab University and worked as a journalist in AL-KIFAH newspaper and AL-AHAD magazine from 1963 to 1967. He is a member of the first generation of tribesmen to go beyond the bounds of the clan and join partisan political action. He was arrested in 1958 during Camille Sham'un's administration because he organized a popular demonstration in support of the unity between Egypt and Syria. With the start of the civil war in 1975, he took part in the battles against the Phalangist Party.

He is tied by strong relations to a number of political and religious leaderships, including Shaykh Muhammad Mahdi Shams-al-Din, Speaker Husayn al-Husayni, Minister Nabih Birri, 'Abdallah al-Amin, and Ministers 'Ali al-Khalil and Muhsin Dallul. He is an active member of al-Hirmil area Popular Followup Committee in which all of the area's clans and parties are represented. This is a committee concerned with setting up reform and developmental projects.

MOROCCO

Istiqlal Party National Council Presents Platform

91AA0101B Rabat L'OPINION in French
25 Oct 90 pp 1, 4

[Communique of the National Council of the Istiqlal Party; first two paragraphs are L'OPINION introduction]

[Excerpts] The absence of democracy is the cause of the social, economic, and political crisis that plagues Morocco. Respect for human rights, the exercise of basic freedoms, the establishment of the rule of law and a state answerable before the law, and the defense of judicial independence are indispensable. A revised constitution based on Islamic values is an absolute necessity in order to institute true democracy as the appropriate means to social and economic development and to achieve an equitable distribution of income.

The proceedings of the fourth session of the National Council of the Istiqlal Party, held in Rabat on Saturday and Sunday, 20 and 21 October, culminated in a communique on the social, economic, political, and international situation. The following is the translation of that communique [original in Arabic; French translation published by L'OPINION].

The National Council of the Istiqlal Party, meeting in Rabat for its fourth regular session on Saturday and Sunday, 29 and 30 Rabia I 1411 which corresponds to 20 and 21 October 1990, reached the following decisions after exhaustive study of the political, economic, social, and cultural state of the country in light of the important political report presented by Attorney M'Hamed Boucetta, secretary general of the Istiqlal Party, and after the extensive discussions that ensued in which the members of the National Council brought out the deplorable state

of affairs in all areas resulting from the absence of true democracy, the violation of the laws and dignity of the Moroccan citizen, and the failure of current policy which ignores popular aspirations.

On Democracy, Revision of the Constitution, Public Freedoms, Human Rights, and the Arabization of Public Life

The National Council underscores the crisis of democracy from which the country is suffering and that manifests itself in the incapacity of all representative assemblies at all levels to fulfill their role in guiding the citizens and to serve as worthy representatives of the population and as spokespersons of the voters.

The National Council bitterly recalls the fraud and falsifications that prevailed in the formation of the assemblies and the resulting orientations, which have stripped the assemblies of their attributions despite their weaknesses. The assemblies have been hindered in exercising their power and have lost all capacity to act. They have become rubber-stamp chambers for the wishes of the government and the administrative authorities.

The National Council reiterates that there is no democracy without the rule of law, without authority in the assemblies, without sound elections, without an independent judiciary, or without a climate that enables the justice system to fulfill its role. The National Council appeals to all the country's vital forces to unite for the purpose of mobilizing the people.

Revision of the Constitution

On the subject of revising the Constitution, in accordance with the decisions made at the 12th congress, the National Council believes it necessary that a revised constitution be drafted at the earliest possible date, it being understood that any revision of the Constitution must seek to consolidate true democracy in our country and to achieve balance among the powers. Any revision of the Constitution must be based on the values of Islam and draw its inspiration from Islamic law, which must become the principal source of all legislation. Any revision must effectively guarantee the rights and liberties of citizens of both sexes. It must also protect their lives and serve as the path effectively taken to achieve economic and social development and to achieve an equitable distribution of income to the benefit of the young generations.

Human Rights

The National Council condemns all forms of abuse and pressure to which citizens are subjected in flagrant violation of the law and of human rights. It proclaims its total solidarity with all those who have been deprived of basic freedoms whether individually or collectively and asks the government to assume its full responsibilities with regard to these flagrant violations of human rights.

The National Council reiterates its support for the proposed national human rights charter. [passage omitted]

Arabization of Public Life

The National Council believes that the Arab language must be given its rightful place, whether in public life or in other domains. It asks all citizens to use no other language but Arabic in their dealings, in their homes, and in their relations with their children. It asks the government to respect the provisions of the Constitution stipulating that the Arab language is the official language of the country, by establishing its use in governmental offices and in public life.

The National Council notes with surprise the House of Representatives' dilatoriness in approving the law proposed by the Istiqlal caucus, "For Unity and Egalitarianism," with the goal of Arabizing governmental activities and public life. [passage omitted]

TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY

The Question of Moroccan Sahara

The referendum has been superseded. National sovereignty must not be breached.

The National Council reaffirms the basic principles of the Istiqlal Party regarding the total territorial unity of the country. It believes that:

- The recovery of the southern provinces has become a closed matter since the return of these provinces to the motherland.
- The referendum has been superseded and would no longer serve any purpose.
- The UN secretary general's report on the Sahara, as presented to the Security Council, is to be rejected both in content and in form because it infringes on Moroccan sovereignty.

The National Council declares that the Moroccan people will stand firm in the face of any maneuver affecting the sovereignty of Morocco and its territorial integrity in the south, north, or east.

The National Council salutes the heroic sacrifices of our FAR [Royal Armed Forces] and bows with emotion and respect to the memory of the martyrs who fell for our territorial unity. It asks that the families of these martyrs and the wounded be taken care of by speedily granting them pensions and by devoting greater attention to widows and orphans.

The Release of Detainees in Tindouf

The National Council declares that serious action must be undertaken to free our brothers detained in the Tindouf camps. It salutes the determination displayed by our brothers of the recovered Sahara and their active participation in building the country.

The Question of Sebta and Mellilia [Ceuta and Melilla] and Neighboring Islands

The National Council reasserts the attachment of the Moroccan people to the Moroccan identity of Sebta, Mellilia, and their island dependencies and their unending mobilization to sacrifice themselves for the return of these portions of territory to the motherland.

The National Council has closely followed the program adopted by the Executive Committee for liberation of the northern border cities with regard to the awakening of national public awareness and to the education of Spanish and international public opinion in order to end the colonial presence in our despoiled northern lands.

The National Council approves the Executive Committee's initiatives and action. It asks the Executive Committee to step up efforts to implement the remainder of its liberation program.

The government must not abandon its responsibilities in the liberation of these two cities. In view of the changes the world is witnessing in the search for a new world order, on the eve of a united EEC, and with a view to the construction of an Arab Maghreb, the National Council believes that the government's failure to enact the necessary measures to thwart the colonialist plots seeking to Hispanicize these two cities and destroy all signs of Moroccan identity among our citizens in them, is an abdication of its responsibilities. The government must assume its responsibilities to hasten the decolonization of this Mediterranean region. The National Council expresses its complete and total solidarity with the harried citizens who live in these cities and it salutes their struggle, their attachment to their Moroccan identity, their defense of Islam, and their refusal to succumb to the various temptations that might have caused them to doubt or that might have led them to accept Spanish nationality.

The National Council asks the government to set up educational establishments and to build mosques and cultural centers in these cities.

The National Council confirms that its attitude remains unchanged with regard to need to expedite the development of the northern provinces, particularly in the border areas.

The National Council asks the government to include Sebta, Mellilia, and the neighboring islands among the country's administrative districts as well as among its electoral, local, and legislative districts.

The Arab Maghreb

Participation by the peoples and the creation of a common market.

Since its founding, the Istiqlal Party has always believed in the need for a united Arab Maghreb. It acted to unify the work of the region's activists in the struggle against colonialism. It believes that the process of building the

UMA [Arab Maghreb Union] is not being implemented as quickly as it could be despite progress already achieved.

The National Council appeals for common action among the Union's five countries to be effectively strengthened, not only in harmonization and coordination but also in their political, economic, and social goals, and that this be done while enabling the peoples and the vital forces of the Union to participate concretely in a climate that responds to the aspirations of these peoples.

The National Council calls for the process of creating a common market among the UMA countries to be set in motion so as to achieve economic integration in response to the many economic, technological, cultural, and political challenges.

THE ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL SITUATION

Employment, Wages, and Prices

The National Council condemns rising unemployment and underemployment knowing that the numbers of unemployed university graduates and honor-winning graduates of advanced institutes are continually on the rise.

The National Council takes note of the fact that the government has neither implemented nor respected the words of His Majesty the King in his speech on 9 July concerning the creation of 120,000 jobs in 1990.

The National Council reiterates that permanently rising prices and joblessness as well as the short shrift given to social policy in the state budget have the effect of preventing broad strata of society from acceding to a minimum standard of living and from enjoying a decent life.

The National Council reiterates that the industrialization of the country is capable of absorbing unemployment and expanding the purchasing power of citizens if a wise and appropriate policy is adopted and if there are economic and social orientations to guarantee a balanced evolution of all strata of the population in all provinces.

The National Council asks that a serious dialogue be opened between the different parties to improve the social climate and equitably solve the problems that primarily affect the working class.

The National Council asks the government to do retired civil servants the justice of raising their retirement pensions.

Housing

The National Council warns against the worsening housing crisis and high rents that already constitute an impediment to young people, to their stability and their integration into society.

The National Council condemns the latest increase in rents, which affects the purchasing power of certain civil servants.

The National Council condemns the government's inability to solve the housing problem and to provide the health services that this problem makes necessary.

The National Council calls for the eradication of shantytowns and improved rural dwelling conditions.

The National Council condemns the policy applied in attributing lots and the methods used to deal with the public by institutions and establishments whose mission is to oversee the attribution of residential lots in the cities.

The Zakat [Giving of Alms] and Social Solidarity

To fail to concern oneself with the organization and payment of the zakat is to abandon one of the pillars of Islam.

The National Council calls attention to the serious and continual erosion of purchasing power among citizens in the various strata of society, the consequence of which is a threat to stability and general security.

The National Council believes that social solidarity is a social and economic imperative and a duty for everyone.

The National Council believes that the zakat, which is one of the five pillars of Islam, is of capital importance to national solidarity and to the eradication of social disparities and unemployment. Failure to concern oneself with the zakat and its payment is a form of abandoning one of the pillars of Islam.

The Trade Deficit

The National Council notes with worry the existence of financial imbalance, particularly in external finances. The record trade deficit reached in 1989, despite the continual depreciation of our currency's value, confirms the failure of the economic and financial choices made by the government which, despite eight years of economic recovery policy, has proved incapable of correcting the situation and diminishing the size of the debt that weighs heavily on the country and prevents it from developing economically and socially.

The National Council believes that the country's present level of industrialization has created unintegrated production structures that have for years prevented the country from improving its trade with the outside world. The results of indiscriminate liberalization are there to prove it.

Privatization

Proceeds from the privatization of companies should be made available to the development of the disadvantaged regions.

The National Council notes the absence of an overall, integrated program to restructure the public sector and institute needed reforms, except in a few rare cases. The policy followed thus far consists merely in turning a number of state enterprises into private property.

The National Council notes that the government sells profitable enterprises to the private sector while enterprises operating at a loss continue to be bailed out directly by the people—that is, through the state budget.

The National Council condemns the fact that proceeds from the sale of public enterprises to the private sector are used to fund the operating budget.

The National Council states that these proceeds should be invested in the poor regions to give them a chance to industrialize, develop, and create jobs.

The National Council declares that it is necessary to protect citizens' jobs and sources of income just as it is necessary to provide workers and managers the opportunity to be among company owners so as to create the necessary social balance.

Sales of state lands should benefit farmers.

The National Council condemns the sale of state-owned agricultural land to private individuals who have no farming activity, instead of selling the land to eligible parties or distributing it to farmers who own none.

The National Council condemns the sale of forest lands and of coastal lands to the private sector.

Agriculture

The National Council believes that loans are one of the problems preventing the development of agriculture. Indebtedness is the fate of large strata of small- and medium-sized farmers and the high interest rates that accompany these loans, combined with the price of fertilizer and fuel, are an impediment to production.

An appropriate system must be set up for the rescheduling of debt and the cancellation of interest obligations under which the small- and medium-sized farmers labor.

The National Council declares that relations between the authorities and farmers and citizens, generally speaking, must be balanced and must be based upon mutual confidence, not on abuse, mistrust, and injustice. For this reason, imprisonment for nonpayment of farm loans must be proscribed, thus extending the procedure used in the cities to the rural world. [passage omitted]

Health

The National Council decries the deteriorated state of public health. Buildings are in poor repair; equipment is far from adequate; medications are unavailable; and illness is dangerously on the rise.

The National Council condemns the government's abandonment of free health care. This decision adversely affects the overwhelming majority of citizens.

The National Council decries the high cost of pharmaceuticals. It is an impediment to recovery from illness as the poor masses cannot afford the high prices of medications.

The National Council believes that medications fall within the realm of health policy for the good of all society. They help to prevent a deterioration in health and the spread of contagious diseases and epidemics.

The National Council believes that governmental efforts in the area of health serve to foster economic development while contributing to disease prevention and improving the lot of the individual.

Youth

Because the Party believes that young people are the foundation of the nation and the future of the country, the National Council states that an effective policy must be adopted in this domain, a policy that would create conditions favorable to the education, training, and employment of young people, particularly of honor-winning university graduates. A framework for mobilizing the energies of the young must be found so that they may participate in and effectively contribute to the edification of the country.

The Council condemns the policy of despair and marginalization that the government has adopted in this domain. The Council asks the government to approve the universal charter of children's rights and to devote the necessary attention to the problems of Morocco's young people. [passage omitted]

ARAB, ISLAMIC, AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

The Palestinian Question

After studying the situation of the Arab Palestinian people subjected by the occupier to the most difficult of ordeals and threatened with extermination, the National Council condemns the atrocious slaughter perpetrated by the Zionist Israeli entity and by the Zionist colonizers in occupied Al Qods and approves the communique issued by the Party's Executive Committee on 18 October 1990 on this barbarous deed.

Homage to the Courageous Intifadah

The National Council reiterates its support for the Palestinian people who are fighting against the occupier to recover their land and establish their independent state with Al Qods as its capital, under the direction of their sole legal representative, the PLO.

The National Council condemns the Judaizing of holy places by the Zionist occupation authorities. The National Council also condemns the desecration of the Al Aqsa mosque.

Condemnation of Immigration by Soviet Jews

The Council once again condemns immigration by Soviet Jews in occupied Palestine, whose numbers continue to grow daily.

The Council condemns the material, moral, and diplomatic backing provided by the United States of America and the unconditional support given to the Zionist entity. This attitude encourages the Zionists to commit savage slaughters of the Palestinian people without the slightest reaction from the international community.

The National Council appeals to all Muslim countries and to all peace-loving countries that respect human rights to proclaim their active solidarity with the Palestinian people in its ordeal, to seek to halt these killings programmed and carried out by the occupation army, and to take action within the United Nations to obtain recognition of the Palestinian people's full rights.

The National Council asks the United Nations, and the Security Council in particular, to assume their responsibilities in enforcing the UN decisions on the Palestinian matter, to decide in favor of holding an international conference with the effective participation of the Palestinian state, and to take the necessary measures to protect the Palestinian people.

The Arabian [Persian] Gulf Crisis

After carefully studying the situation in the Arab Gulf where alarming tensions could lead to the outbreak of war and, after studying the weakening of Arab unity that ensued from this crisis, the National Council condemns all those who support a military solution.

The Council affirms that the crisis must be circumscribed and that action must be taken to avoid a destructive war in which Arabs and Muslims would be the primary victims, while the Zionist entity would be given the advantage of seeing the Arab-Muslim forces, energies, and economic potential annihilated.

The National Council believes that the Gulf problem is a prefabricated one and that the purpose of the buildup of American and Western forces in the eastern portion of the Arab world is to destroy Iraq's military and economic installations and to sow terror among the Arab people, thus encouraging Israel to exterminate the Palestinian people.

The National Council believes that the primary reason for the seriousness of the Gulf crisis is a product of the legacies of colonialism in the region, the exploitation of the region's oil riches by foreigners, and the absence of democracy in the Arab fatherland.

The Council believes that the Arab framework is best suited to solve this crisis, to find a just solution to the Iraqi-Kuwaiti problem, to activate the departure of the foreign military forces in the region, and to end the blockade and other measures taken to starve to the Iraqi people.

The National Council states that the Gulf crisis is effectively related to the Israeli occupation. It is one legacy of colonial scheming in the Arab fatherland. For that reason, the settlement of the current Gulf crisis is dependent upon an overall settlement of the problems in the eastern portion of the Arab world and the Zionist occupation of Palestine.

International Affairs

The National Council hails the rapprochement between the Muslim peoples of Iraq and Iran and the normalization of relations between these two countries for the good of the entire Islamic community.

In the name of the Istiqlal Party, the National Council once again hails the Namibian people who regained their independence after much sacrifice and after struggling against the colonialism of the racist South-African regime.

The Council will not cease to condemn the apartheid regime in South Africa. The National Council affirms its solidarity with the courageous Eritrean people in their fight for independence.

The National Council hails the struggle of the Afghan mujahidin who are defending their Muslim identity and seek to impose democracy in Afghanistan.

The National Council reiterates its support for the Muslim people of Kashmir who are fighting for self-determination on the basis of United Nations decisions.

In conclusion, the National Council recommends that the Party's Executive Committee enact all of the provisions contained in this communique and that it report to the fifth session of the National Council on progress achieved.

Regional Association Promotes Privatization in Meknes

91P40064A Casablanca LA VIE ECONOMIQUE
in French 16 Nov 90 p 36

[Text] Bold and unexpected: that's how a new actor on the privatization scene has appeared. Grand Ismailia [La Grande Ismailia] is a regional association for economic and social development whose activity is focused on the city of Meknes and its entire economic region (central-south).

Grand Ismailia does not actually intervene as such in privatizations. Nevertheless, it is indirectly involved in the idea through Mr. Ahmed Senoussi, former minister

and diplomat, businessman, and one of the premier figures in the city of Meknes.

As original as it may be, the idea seems relatively simple in its definition: through a public appeal for savings, create one (or several) holding company(ies) whose activity would be centered around the development of Meknes. From this starting point, the variations are numerous and include intervention in the privatization of public companies located in the region, investment in not only industry and agro-industry but also tourism and real estate.

Who said that public savings are low and hard to mobilize? In two months 50 million dirhams were gathered to provide the capital for two holding companies formed since September, the Ismailia Society for Regional Development (SIDER), whose task is to participate in or to start industrial or agro-industrial projects in the region (including privatization projects), and the Real Estate Society of the Central-South Region, which will develop and promote real estate. The capital of the first holding company was set at 30 million dirhams and that of the second at 20 million dirhams. This global financing package was put together using only the funds of the people of Meknes, whose eagerness has had to be checked. In this regard, it is estimated that the capital levels would have been greatly surpassed had the project's originators so desired. Furthermore, the requests to participate continue, and it has been decided to leave SIDER's capital open until 18 November, at which time it will probably reach 40 million dirhams.

The enthusiasm generated by this project has been great on the part of the residents of Meknes as well as communities of former Meknes residents now living in other cities, especially among professionals and business leaders. The unifying element certainly has been the region, but a big role has been played by Mr. Ahmed Senoussi, who seems to enjoy considerable esteem among his fellow citizens. There is also the feeling on the part of many residents or natives of Meknes that their city has not been favored by fate. They feel that Meknes is only a pale reflection of its past glories, that it has undergone economic shocks that have impoverished it and that it has been the victim of a better-equipped and better-protected neighbor that has turned into a rival. In short, they believe it is time to do something for the city.

It is true that, in certain respects, Meknes today is in retreat compared to its past. For example, the vineyards, which used to account for 160,000 employees, today include 10 times less. Urban development is not under control. The region's agricultural and touristic advantages are far from being entirely exploited. And, above all, Meknes is a city of savings (the bankers know this very well); the banking deposits here are large. This shows that the savings of the people of Meknes finance investments in other regions. This is also the reason that the public appeal for savings launched by Grand Ismailia has had such widespread repercussions.

What will the two holding companies do? They will gather up savings, energy, and capital and also initiate investments. But, above all, they will collect ideas and identify projects. According to the director of the association, Morocco especially needs a spirit of enterprise and ideas. Indeed, the director adds, hundreds of millions of dollars of international aid and lines of credit remain unused due to lack of promoters and projects.

Thus his ambition is, first of all, to provide Meknes with a structure for study and development which would identify gaps and projects.

To start off, an international colloquy on regional development will be organized at the end of December. All organizations, public or private, institutions or businesses, which have more or less known or studied the development of Meknes, will be invited. Foreign organizations interested in regional development or investments will also be invited. It certainly will be useful to learn the experiences of those from Germany, Spain, Canada and France.

The founders hope that this colloquy will succeed in providing Meknes with a charter or plan for guiding development. The second step will consist of studying projects. Senoussi claims that the region's advantages are not negligible. Hasn't Meknes always been a prosperous agricultural and commercial center? Agriculture, agro-industry, and tourism automatically come to mind. A large city, Meknes nevertheless has attracted only those tourists who pass quickly through the city. The idea now is to develop new products in the back country: mountain activities, winter sports, hunting, fishing, golf.

For someone who is on the lookout for ideas, Mr. Senoussi himself is not lacking in them at all. Here is one that is a little different: Meknes can be a leader in underwriting. Senoussi is going to propose to those countries which cooperate well with foreigners (Germany, Canada, or Spain, for example) that they make Meknes a showcase for their policy of cooperation. The idea is appealing because it allows for the substitution of a more homogeneous and thus more efficient situation for one in which projects are very dispersed.

But don't holding companies that include a multitude of small investors (SIDER has more than 400 shareholders) run the risk of becoming unmanageable due to deadlocks which arise sooner or later? Mr. Senoussi is optimistic. In the case of SIDER, for example, a sufficiently strong and homogeneous core exists to avoid deadlocks and conflicts. By no means does this imply that the small investors are reduced to a marginal role; four of them sit on the board of directors.

What are the possibilities for the two holding companies' activities? We are assured that they are very broad, with the essential element being coming up with ideas and identifying projects. Apparently financing will not be difficult to acquire, due to the financial resources of the shareholders (the capital could be doubled in a short time with no problem) as well as the many other

financing sources which the holding companies would not hesitate to tap. In this regard, SIDER anticipates using a mixed financing formula in the following series: the holding companies' own funds first, as a foundation; local or foreign institutional investors or foreign industrial partners as the next step; development banks; offshore banks; Moroccan banks or local capital sources as a last resort.

Mr. Senoussi is optimistic. "We will fulfill the conditions of efficiency, solvency, and space which will allow us to assemble rather large amounts of capital," he says. For him, the great advantage of Meknes "is this mobilization of all the energy sources to permit us to make up for the delay in economic progress and create the most jobs possible so that the city can resume its role as an economic and agricultural center and become a leading zone for regional development.

Thus, here is an original plan designed to create a repository of ideas, gather capital, develop a region, and participate in privatizations with a view toward regional development. Using different sources, other regions could initiate analogous or comparable plans.

SAUDI ARABIA

Defense Minister Discusses Foreign Troop Presence

91AE0139A London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic
9 Nov 90 pp 16-17

[Article: "Consequences are Catastrophic; No Arab Land Will be Yielded"]

[Excerpts] He prefers toughness to softness, and endures it with calm nerves, sanctioning trouble if it is for the peace of his country and *Ummah* [Arab, Islamic community as a whole]. Prince Sultan Ibn-'Abd-al-'Aziz travels from barracks to barracks, from one military post to another, in the midst of heat, sand, and desert, taking the oath with the Saudi, Arab, and friendly armed forces, in the heat of many hours of preparation for both men and equipment.

Prince Sultan Ibn-'Abd al-'Aziz, second deputy prime minister, minister of aviation and defense, and inspector general, is quick-witted, a believer in the wisdom and farsightedness of the supreme commander of the armed forces, King Fahd Ibn-'Abd-al-'Aziz, and a spokesman and orator. [passage omitted]

To be more precise, we can see that Prince Sultan Ibn-'Abd-al-'Aziz works from four principles that govern his course and responsibilities. They are:

1. Asking assistance from the United States does not diminish Saudi and Arab sovereignty, so long as the American army carries out its pledge to the kingdom, that these forces will not stay one moment after the Gulf ordeal ends. This is what King Fahd and President Bush

want, and it is incontestable. Its exploitation for distorted purposes against Saudi Arabia will not deceive anyone.

2. Saudi Arabia does not want a war against Iraq. On the contrary, all it wants is to restore its sister country, Kuwait, and to maintain peace on Saudi and Gulf territory. The kingdom calls for peace, and will continue to do that. Confrontation—if it is decided upon after all peaceful solutions fail—is the most detestable of solutions for King Fahd, the leaders of Saudi Arabia and Prince Sultan.

3. The kingdom's entering into foreign alliances, such as NATO or similar alliances, is not under consideration by Saudi Arabia, which only acts within the Arab League, the true umbrella for Arab unity, in light of the new principles of Arab solidarity, and within the framework of the Gulf Cooperation Council, and in coordination with the rest of the Arab groups. As for an Arab cooperating with a foreigner against an Arab and Muslim, this was the last thing in the minds of Saudi leadership, which believes that the kingdom has a powerful army, capable of protecting its people and neighbors.

4. Saudi Arabia is not against Iraq being comfortable, but there can be no discussion with regard to withdrawing completely from Kuwait and implementing Security Council resolutions. Matters that form disputes among Arabs are resolved amicably, not by violence. We are suffering today from division and pain because of the evil consequences of the use of force [passage omitted].

Media Role in Wartime Discussed

91AE0139B London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic
14 Nov 90 p 6

[Article: "Call for Need for Balance Between Reports of Dangers of War and the Masses' Psychological Adjustment for Defense and Medical Treatment Preparations"]

[Excerpts] "The military option"... "chemical warfare"... "weapons of mass destruction" are daily headlines in the daily newspapers of the Middle East countries, or rather, of the countries of the whole world. This prominence comes from the fact that the Arab Gulf region, since the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, has been living on a powder keg that could blow up at any moment, either by calculation or miscalculation. [passage omitted]

A special learned forum about the media's role in protecting against the ravages of human disasters, organized recently by the Saudi Civil Defense, in cooperation with the Arab Center for Security Studies and Training, came up with a number of proposals that the media should take into account when it is dealing with catastrophes through reports and pictures, especially war reports.

Among the important studies presented to this forum was one entitled "Balance between Reports about

Human Catastrophe Losses, and the Masses' Psychological Adjustments to Preparations for Protection and Medical Treatment," prepared by Dr. Farraj Husayn.

The scholar states that with the dreadful possibilities for contemporary media, unfortunately that type of exploitation has appeared many times, which adversely affects people's ability to think soundly. Therefore, it was important to have media balance, based on limiting the hype of media impact, and blocking exploitation in two ways: the first, by selective control of information; and, the second, by controlling the flow of information.

The scholar believes that, despite the media's enormous resources and technology, the science of dealing with disasters is still in its infancy. [passage omitted]

The Mistake of Improvising

The scholar made a number of recommendations and reached various conclusions in his study. One of the most important was the need to get away from improvisation in drawing up media plans and to adopt a policy based on long-term planning, founded on the availability of correct information without exaggeration or belittlement. Research devoted to the media must be developed, so that it can balance the requirements of positions, crises, and disasters. The scholar also recommended the importance of establishing centers for the study of conflicts and catastrophes, for the purpose of resolving them. These centers could be repositories for expertise in these areas, with human resources being made available to them. This would assist in defining and estimating the danger, and then "rectifying the danger."

Confronting the Danger

He said that the only way to avert the increased threat of nuclear, chemical, and biological annihilation was to consider all kinds of activities that could be termed activities of annihilation as being crimes against humanity and to put an end to them as soon as possible. Moreover, there is a need to build and develop an effective network of communications which would ensure the availability of information at the required speed and assist in defining the dimensions of the problem. There is also a need to be prepared and ready to face catastrophe by means of integrated planning for the confrontation. Moreover, total psychological and medical care and treatment must be provided for support, inspiration, and reassurance, and those who cannot be steadfast during the catastrophe must be removed. We must work to alleviate and lessen the intensity of the disaster and restore equilibrium.

REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

Agrarian Reform, Tenure Changes Disputed

91AE0140A Sanaa AL-THAWRAH in Arabic
25 Oct 90 p 6

[Article by 'Ali Mansar]

[Text] Abyan—After an hour of the expanded meeting of landowners and usufructuaries in the Governorate of Abyan, the anarchy led to physical friction between the two groups.

The meeting was held on the afternoon of 17 October in the assembly hall at the secretariat of the Yemeni Socialist Party in Zinjibar, under the chairmanship of Muhammad Haydarah Masdus, the deputy prime minister for manpower development and administrative reform. In attendance were Muhammad 'Ali Hadi, the secretary of the executive office of the local people's council in the governorate, a number of officials in the office of the Agriculture and Water Resources Ministry in the governorate, and members of the Socialist Party Organization secretariat in the governorate.

After a full hour, the anarchy in the meeting, the attendees' failure to remain quiet and listen, their continual interruption of Masdus in a chaotic manner lacking basic discussion etiquette and attentiveness to understand another viewpoint out of mutual respect instead of seizing and monopolizing the discussion, and the raising of disquieting voices and their pronouncement of some irresponsible expressions—led to physical friction and verbal insults of ill repute between the owners and the usufructuaries inside the hall.

The alarmed atmosphere inside the hall became charged with danger, fear, consternation, and apprehension that began to control everyone present. It was feared that the situation would develop into a violent confrontation with frightening results known only by God, the praised and exalted.

However, a technical defect to which the loudspeakers were subjected by the action of an unknown agent saved the charged situation by shutting down and ending the meeting. This, despite 15 minutes of futile attempts by some brothers lacking technical knowledge to repair the breakdown in the absence of the technical worker who operates the microphones. After that, Masdus left the assembly hall under a reinforced guard summoned by the governorate's security command as a result of the bedlam and aggravation of the situation. With Masdus' departure, the attendees left the hall, blaming one another for the meeting's failure.

What are the reasons and motives that led to the meeting's failure? Who bears responsibility for that failure?

Among the reasons and motives that led to the failure of the meeting was that it was supposed to be held for the landowners alone, so that they could air their views and recommendations to return their confiscated land. The land in question was confiscated under the Agricultural Reform Law of 1970, or because the state erroneously applied that law to land not stipulated in it, land which belonged to persons who fled the country, justifiably and unjustifiably, especially land that was confiscated for the construction of governmental and service facilities and

organizations and the expansion of state farms at the expense of the owners' land.

However, the meeting contained the seeds of its failure even before the farmers who are using the land arrived at the assembly hall. Their participation nonetheless aroused the rancor and enmity of the owners and shocked them, which caused some of them to lose control, misbehave excitedly, and manifest malice, intense hatred, and anger toward the farmers or new usufructuaries of their land. The owners' behavior at the meeting reflected negative issues that have persisted in the depths of their souls for 20 years of suffering, deprivation, and fear, after their property was taken from them by force and they were deprived of the land that they had inherited from their fathers and grandfathers. Some of the owners shouted:

- No to the Tenure Law - No to the Reform Charter - No to the Federation of Farmers - Yes to the unified state, our land must be returned, just as it was taken.

Several land usufructuaries behaved similarly, loudly voicing their refusal to return the land or to provide compensation for it, etc.

Several questions emerge: Why did the farmers using the land come to the meeting? Who invited them to attend and why? Who is the responsible party that convened the meeting and why did it convene the meeting? What are the issues whose discussion was desired? Who was invited to the meeting? Why were the hall and attendees not provided with security?

These and other questions are left to be answered by the concerned parties. The meeting's failure clearly warns of a danger that threatens society with tragic events that might occur at any time between owners and usufructuaries of the land as long as there is no responsible inquiry to resolve the problem of land and ownership, and to draft practical, scientific, well-considered, realistic remedies to solve all land problems comprehensively and fully based on sound, logical foundations in order to return the confiscated land to its owners in the framework of a new tenures law. Such a new law, which should be issued as soon as possible, must define the outer limits of the character of ownership and protection. It must clearly stipulate which land should or should not be returned, and it must clearly determine the manner in which the owners' land will be returned and treated.

Therefore, it is necessary to discontinue any meetings or dialogue with the owners and usufructuaries of the land. There should be no final settlement regarding a solution of land problems (politically or judicially) until the House of Deputies promulgates a tenures law for agricultural lands, inasmuch as the House of Deputies is the only avenue capable of deciding on all land issues and the return of land to owners. This must be so, because what was taken by the law must be returned by the law, not by useless dialogue and discussion that clash with the force of truth.

INDIA

Andhra Pradesh: State Government Urged to Control Violence

91P40079A Madras DINAMANI in Tamil
10 Dec 90 p 6

[Editorial: "Turmoil in Andhra"]

[Text] The law and order situation in Andhra Pradesh has gotten really bad. The past few months have seen communal class disputes in its capital, Hyderabad. The situation has not become better, in spite of day and night curfews. Just last Friday and Saturday alone, more than 60 people lost their lives.

A high police official admitted publicly that even the police itself could not enforce the curfew in some parts of Hyderabad's old city. In addition to Hyderabad, the communal strifes seem to erupt from time to time in other parts of Andhra.

In the Telungana District of Andhra Pradesh, the militancy of the Naxalites has grown steadily through the years. The previous governments of Congress (I) and N.T. Rama Rao were not successful in curbing the activities of the Naxalites. Chenna Reddy's Congress (I) rule, following N.T. Rama Rao, saw an increase in the atrocities committed by the Naxalites. Kidnapping government officials, representatives of the people, and individuals, and demanding ransoms or the release of imprisoned Naxalites in exchange for them, and on occasion murdering the kidnapped are the scare tactics the Naxalites have adopted in Andhra for many years now.

Militant groups indulge in illegal operations using dangerous and illegally obtained weapons, without any fear of apprehension. The political parties use them, and they take advantage of these political parties. This is one of the curses post-independence India has suffered. Such thugs are operating throughout the state of Andhra Pradesh, without any regard for the law.

A few years ago, in the city of Vijayawada, Vengavitti Mohanaranga Rao with his team of thugs and Devineni Rajasekar with his were committing many atrocities. Since it was believed that Mohanaranga Rao had the support of Congress (I) and Rajasekar Telugu Desam Party, the legal apparatus was hesitant to approach them. Mohanaranga Rao was murdered in one of the clashes. The two militant groups are functional to this day. (The late Mohanaranga Rao's wife is an MLA [Member of the Legislative Assembly], and Rajasekar is a member of the Telugu Desam Legislature).

Communal violences, the atrocities of the Naxalites, illegal activities of thugs and politicians in concert have all resulted in widespread suspension of law and order throughout the state.

Congress (I), which is generally considered the master of Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar, is the ruling party in Andhra Pradesh. If he antagonizes Congress (I), he might lose his position of power and perhaps that is what is keeping him from effectively intervening there.

Rajiv has condemned the Janata Dal as the ruling party for not sending enough and effective storm and flood-relief to Orissa. He has also criticized BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] ruled Madhya Pradesh for communal disturbances there. He has reviewed the West Bengal situation and has said the leftist coalition under CPI-M [Communist Party of India-Marxist] controlling West Bengal is unable to restore law and order there. At the same time, blaming BJP rather than the State government for the turmoil in Andhra Pradesh is just a political ploy.

The Center must insist that the State take all the necessary steps to restore law and order in Andhra Pradesh. If necessary, the State government should request the help of the military and the central police force.

'The Decade of the Farmer': Economic Realities Examined

91AS0219A Bombay NAVBHARAT TIMES in Hindi
2 Nov 90 p 6

[Commentary by Vishnuddutta Nagar: "Economic Realities: Who Will be the Honored Farmer of 'the Decade of the Farmer'?"]

[Text] Mr. V.P. Singh has talked about making the 90's decade "the decade of the farmer." It was repeatedly announced that half of the total planning budget would be used for agricultural development. The farmers will be provided with many new amenities and they will be assured a fair price for their crops. The implication is that the farmers who, until now, have been forgotten, will not only get a place of honor during the next decade, but also will be given the opportunity to play an important role in rural development in the Panchayat government.

Who will be the honored farmer? Which farmer will profit from high grain prices? The answers to these questions lie in the highly expensive farming technology that prioritizes the use of specially developed seeds, chemical fertilizers, pesticides, irrigation, and mechanical farming. This makes agricultural production more and more expensive. Small farmers cannot afford this technology. Only the large and prosperous farmers, who have profited from increased production, can adopt this modern technology. To increase farm production, farm income has been made exempt from taxes. The Green Revolution, which in essence focused on one crop (wheat), made the prosperous farmers big landlords. As a result of this, the chasm between the poor and the rich farmers in the rural areas widened.

The 90's decade will be the decade of the big farmers, not of the small farmers. The manufactures and marketing

people have not produced any effective agricultural implement that could be of use to a small farmer. Landownership figures are not only new in our history, but they have also changed our geography. These statistics show that there are more inequalities in the rural areas than in the cities! Farms of less than two hectares make up 74.5 percent of the total land and only 26.3 percent of it is arable, while 99.5 percent of the large farms have 52.5 percent arable land. This means that landownership patterns have not changed, even after all those agricultural reforms!

At the same time, because of these landownership patterns, we are not able to fully utilize the labor force in the villages. Between 1979 and 1989, the number of farms of one hectare or less have grown from 36 million to 55 million. Small and marginal farmers cannot work the year round on their lands. The destruction of forests and land conservation projects have reduced other sources of income. It is the small farmers who suffer most when floods or droughts affect agricultural production. Employment opportunities for the landless laborers, who depend on these, are further reduced. It is estimated that, on the average, a 10 percent decrease in agricultural production causes a 6 percent reduction in agriculture-related employment. Underutilization of the rural labor force is a direct result of unequal landownership.

The negative influence of the reduction in agricultural production as a portion of our GNP [gross national product] during the last 30 years has affected the small and marginal farmers more than anyone else in the rural areas. In 1960-61, agricultural income was 55.13 percent of our GNP. This portion shrank to 35.77 percent in 1985-86. The number of people depending on agriculture increased during this period. In addition, there was a reduction of 4.6 percent and 11 percent in employment figures as measured by the workday, during the 1970's, in the Green Revolution states of Punjab, Haryana, and Uttar Pradesh. In other words, we cannot hope for increased employment opportunities in these areas by implementing more Green Revolutions. However, there are possibilities of increased rice production in the northeast (Assam, Orissa, and Bihar), eastern Uttar Pradesh, and West Bengal. Most of the farms are smaller than one hectare in these areas. The Green Revolution must be directed toward the small farmers in the north-eastern part of India.

The truth is that a small farmer depends on dry farming. Seventy percent of our farmlands depend on dry farming and produce 42 percent of our total agricultural production. During the eighth plan, over 11.4 billion rupees will be spent to bring another 3.6 million hectares of land under irrigation projects. The provision of bringing only 232 thousand hectares of land under irrigation in the 1990-91 budget clearly indicates that the government is not serious about improving irrigation opportunities for the small farmers. It is clear from the money appropriated in the 1990-91 budget that the government does not have the financial resources to bring the proposed area of land under irrigation.

In the effort to bring dry lands under irrigation projects, it is important that the capacity of existing irrigation projects is not increased. Over-irrigation has decreased agricultural production in many places. This has also reduced the water storage capacity in various dams by 1 million acre-foot. In other words, there has been a decrease in irrigation capacity by 6 million acres each year. We should not forget the fact that irrigation capacity helps increase [words missing from original text] percent agricultural production. The destiny of small farmers is tied to many small and medium irrigation projects that are incomplete because of the lack of money. It would be a great achievement if even half of these projects are completed during "the decade of the farmer."

Our economic policy is also tied to some problems in this area. Our economic policy tried to fit the poor and the small and marginal farmers in the existing structure using the rural development and land reform projects. This economic system does not have the ability or even the desire to break the present social structure, which breeds poverty, and to establish a new economic system. We lack creative reforms. Established reforms such as government loans and subsidized prices only help the big farmers and not the small ones.

During the last few years, there has been a new development in reverse sharecropping. When a poor scheduled caste person rents his land to a well-off scheduled caste member, it is called reverse sharecropping. There are some reasons for this. First, sometimes a helpless widow farms her land out. Second, some people let others farm their land, if they get a good job in a neighboring town. Third, some people want to focus on other, more lucrative employment in the same village and cannot afford to work the land. Reverse sharecropping is increasing for these reasons. We cannot talk about this new development in terms of assumptions or statistics. However, this system requires legal protection so that the wealthy scheduled caste members do not devour the leased land. The greatest danger from this practice is that the wealthy farmers may permanently keep the land by giving out loans to or demanding higher rent from the owners. This system would be very different from the old slogan and promise of "whoever tills the land, owns the land."

The situation is very sad now. The relationship between the landlord, the farmer, and the sharecropper, at various levels, is full of stories of exploitation, interdependence, and new traditions. The small and marginal farmers, because of their limited education and economic resources, are not able to learn or implement new technology. Meanwhile, the big landlords are increasing the size of their farms by taking advantage of legalities and annexing neighboring lands, and they also take full advantage of technical progress. Thus, the rural development projects only help to widen the chasm between the two groups.

Why is the surplus land (two percent) so much lower than the estimated nine percent, after the law about

maximum landholding was announced? The main reasons for this are two clauses in the law, which help break the maximum land ceiling requirement. These clauses allow one to own twice as much land if there are five members in the family; a separate land quota for every adult male child; exemption from the law for land used to grow tea, coffee, cocoa, rubber, or cardamom; granting permission to religious trusts to hold more land; the transfer of unclaimed land; exemption of common property under irrigation from the landownership ceiling; and using each partner in a joint family as another landowner to increase landholdings. Abuse of these clauses has made the efforts to limit landholding unsuccessful.

Regardless of how effectively we implement the land reforms, they will change neither the social structure nor economic exploitation. In addition to the land reforms, we must implement organized and structured projects, which complement the land reform efforts, and help the poor become self-sufficient. These efforts should include part-time employment and industry based in the villages. The rural unemployed must be utilized for rural economic development. Land reforms alone will not be able to change the social and economic structure and help the disadvantaged.

Now that agriculture has replaced industrial development as the top priority in our economic development policy, it is imperative that the small and marginal farmers be given more assistance and encouragement. Our policy should support not only farming, but small farming. Otherwise, the the decade of the 90's will be a cheap effort instead of being "the decade of the farmer."

IRAN

Representatives of Islamic Movements Visit Iran

91AS0108G Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian
30 Sep 90 p 2

[Text] During the war years, the Muslim Brotherhood continually urged the Iraqi government to stop the destructive war.

The address of the leader of Jordan's Muslim Brotherhood to the people of Iran: Accept the greetings of the guardians of the Dome of the Rock and know that today your mosques and your altar and the twin holy shrines are captives in the hands of Zionists. From the very beginning, we extended our congratulation for the victory of the Islamic revolution and made every effort to establish cordial relations with Islamic and revolutionary Iran, which had ushered in the divine rule.

Continuing efforts, by various forces, are under way to find a solution to the crisis in the Persian Gulf. Recently, for instance, in addition to the conference held by participants from the Arab nations which was convened in Amman, a team composed of the leaders of the Islamic Movements of the region was created which

initiated a significant effort to bring closer together various opposing views with regard to the Persian Gulf crisis.

ETTELA'AT's correspondent was informed by a close friend of Dr. Hasan al-Turabi, an outstanding Sudanese Muslim and a member of the Islamic Front of that country, that the Council of Islamic Movements, will continue its efforts as before, and probably in the near future it will convene a conference to prepare the preliminaries for the formation of a follow-up committee.

With regard to the method of thought formation of such a delegation, the aforementioned source said: The Muslim Brotherhood held a meeting in Turkey to review the Persian Gulf situation. Likewise, Sudanese Muslim leaders, such as Dr. Hasan al-Turabi in particular, have also been making simultaneous efforts in order to bring about a concerted view of the Islamic Movements as well. As a result of the combined efforts of the two groups, a first meeting was held in Amman, the capital of Jordan.

He went on to add: After the formation of several sessions to determine the method of activity in this regard and to project the objectives of the movement, the Council of Islamic Movements was formed.

In this delegation, representatives from Pakistan, Syria, Malaysia, Sudan, Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria, Yemen, Palestine, Jordan, and Turkey will participate at the level of leaders of the Islamic Movements. From among the famous faces, one can name Rached Ghannouchi, leader of the Islamic Movement; Mahfouz Sakhnah, leader of the Religious Guidance and Reform Society of Algeria; Nabir Shafiq, a Palestinian Muslim theoretician; and Ibrahim Ghushah from the Palestinian Hamas Movement; Najmeddin Ardakan, leader of the Islamic Nejat Party of Turkey; and Qazi Hussein, leader of the Islamic Society of Pakistan.

The aforementioned delegation has so far visited Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and the Islamic Republic of Iran. As stated by some knowledgeable sources, the efforts of this delegation are going to become more extensive and a comprehensive conference of the Islamic Movements from all the Muslim countries will be held. Thereafter, a more limited committee will take shape so as to be able to carry on its movement more easily and at the same time achieve its desired goal for passing on its message in a more centralized and eloquent manner.

The aim of such an effort, as noted by one of the members of this delegation, is to investigate all the global Islamic issues and to make every effort in order to create unity between various Muslim groups and movements.

Perhaps one of the most important objectives of such a measure is the creation of a unified front for all the Islamic Movements, while letting the combined voices of all the Islamic forces be heard, and finally bringing closer together various opposing forces in the Persian Gulf

crisis in order to prevent a military confrontation and thus save a bloodshed of our Muslim brethren.

Apparently, the primary efforts of this delegation have been planned to concentrate on the accumulation of various points of view and other necessary information regarding the Persian Gulf crisis. Thereafter, there will begin an investigation of this information, planning of a work schedule for the delegation, and the beginning of a new activity route for the future of this delegation.

In Jordan, the delegation met and talked with King Husayn. In Saudi Arabia, it visited King Fahd; Turki Bin-Faysal, the head of the Saudi Regime's Security Organization; Naif Bin-'Abd al-'Aziz Al Saud, the minister of interior; and some other Islamic personalities such as the director of the World of Islam Society.

With regard to the presence of the U.S. troops in the holy land of Mecca, the members of the delegation stated that although the leaders of the Saudi royal family consider a helping hand from the pagans to fight against others to be permissible, yet other leaders and Islamic forces present in Saudi Arabia, such as Sayyaf, a leader of the Muslim Afghan Mujahidin close to the Muslim Brotherhood's line of thought, condemned the presence of these forces.

In Iraq, in addition to paying a collective visit to Saddam Husayn, some members of the delegation also met with Taha Yasin Ramadan and 'Izzat Ibrahim al-Duri, deputy president of Iraq. According to some sources close to the delegation, there was no Islamic personality or force in Iraq to which the delegation could impart its mutual tendencies.

From 26 September to 30 September 1990, the delegation of the Islamic Movements also paid an official visit to the Islamic Republic of Iran, and the majority of the members of this delegation will leave our Islamic country by noon, today. During the visit, the delegation members met with Ayatollah Khamene'i, leader of the Islamic revolution, Hojjat ol-Eslam val-Moslemin Hashemi-Rafsanjani, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and Hojjat ol-Eslam val-Moslemin Seyyed Ahmad Khomeyni. Furthermore, the delegation visited the Center for Political and International Studies, affiliated with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and they also visited and talked with the board of directors of the Islamic Consultative Majles.

At one point during this conference we had a conversation with Mr. Sheikh Muhammad 'Abd-al-Rahman Khalifah, general supervisor of the Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan, who analyzed the objective for the formation of this delegation and its visit to the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Muhammad 'Abd-al-Rahman, who also heads this delegation, with regard to the formation and goals of the delegation, stated: Recent events in the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea and the presence of the American troops in the region together with the probability of a military

confrontation all helped in bringing about this delegation. In Jordan, we met with King Husayn. While he himself has taken a specific stance with regard to the Gulf crisis, the king welcomed the delegation's efforts for finding a solution to the crisis.

He further added: In Saudi Arabia, the delegation met with King Fahd, who had talked about Saddam Husayn, president of Iraq, in a positive tone and stated that if he knew beforehand about the problem between Iraq and Kuwait, he would have tried to prevent this crisis by all means.

In evaluating the existing situation, Muhammad 'Abd-al-Rahman Khalifah stated that at the present time the most important thing is the presence of the U.S. troops in the Gulf region. He further added: Today, the East and the West have reached an agreement to destroy the Islamic East.

The head of the Islamic Movement evaluated his visit of the Islamic Republic of Iran as very significant and positive. While expressing his appreciation for the Islamic revolution and its leader and enumerating the activities and other visits of the delegation in Tehran, he welcomed the issuance of a Jihad decree against the aggressive forces of America by His Excellency Ayatollah Khamene'i, leader of the Islamic revolution of Iran, and considered it as an important step for the struggle against arrogance, which gives joy to the Muslims.

In response to the point that: The main cause of this crisis in the Persian Gulf is the invasion of Kuwait by the Iraqi forces and therefore one should condemn this aggression. He said: The issue is now far beyond the person of Saddam Husayn and the Iraqi regime. Right now the goal of world arrogance is not a replacement for Saddam, but complete annihilation of the military power of Iraq, which might be used against the interests of arrogance in the future.

With regard to the crimes, the lootings, and the rapes of innocent people committed by the Iraqi forces in Kuwait, he stated: We discussed this matter with the Iraqi president and he had said that there has been such instances, but these are normal and few and far between. Such things happen when a territory becomes conquered by an attacking army. He also said: Saddam Husayn has announced that he has imposed the death penalty for those individuals who commit rapes.

Muhammad 'Abd-al-Rahman Khalifah, the leader of the Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan, praised the Islamic revolution of Iran and the role and thoughts of Imam Khomeyni's leadership in guiding the public views of Muslims, transforming the region. The effect of the revolution on other movements in the region, particularly the cease-fire treaty between Iran and Iraq, all have enhanced the Islamic movement. He expressed hope that the two important and great forces of the region together will be used in the fight against the usurper Israel.

In response to the question that: You have come to Iran during the holy week which is now changed into the week of celebration and victory. What is your opinion regarding the 1975 treaty and the victory of the Iranian nation? He said: We thank Iraq for finally accepting this treaty and making it possible for Iran to get her rightful demands. As a result of this, peace prevails and now Islamic and revolutionary Iran can concentrate on its basic duty, namely the fight against Israel.

Furthermore, he was asked: During Iraq's invasion of Iran, this country was the harbinger of the struggle against the United States of America and the revolutionary Muslim students, after occupying the U.S. den of spies, took 50 individuals of that den as hostages. And basically Iraq, as the guardian of U.S. interests and imperialism, started the war. Now, how can one believe that a regime [such as Iraq's] which has served America for many years, all of a sudden becomes anti-American and anti-zionist. In response, he said: May God Almighty guide the people toward the right path. While we were in Iraq, we noticed that Saddam had the conviction that his recent move can be a new step in the right direction.

At the end of this interview, which lasted more than half an hour, Sheikh Muhammad 'Abd-al-Rahman Khalifah, leader of the Muslim Brotherhood of Jordan, answered our correspondent's two questions: One concerning the Islamic revolution, and the other regarding the thoughts of Imam Khomeyni.

Our correspondent asked: What is your opinion about the Islamic revolution and its role in creating an awakening Islamic wave and also the effects of the thoughts of Imam Khomeyni on Islamic awareness?

In answer, Sheikh Khalifah said: It is more than 10 years now that everybody knows our opinion regarding the Islamic revolution. Personally, at the head of a delegation representing the Muslim Brotherhood, I came to Iran and in a meeting with Imam Khomeyni in Qom relayed the message of the spiritual leader of the Muslim Brotherhood. At the time, I said that we had not come to express our congratulations, since our hearts had expressed our congratulations for the victory of the Islamic revolution even before our arrival.

Our relation with the Feda'iyun-e Islam Party, which is one of the forerunners of this magnificent revolution, and the great crusader, the famous martyr Navab Safavi needs no introduction. Navab Safavi lived with me in Amman for 15 days, and he was one of my dearest friends. In 1953, he took part in the Islamic Conference for the freedom of Jerusalem, the conference which was formed during the fifth year of Jewish occupation of Jerusalem.

We have had a strong relationship with this revolution and our hearts were filled with joy with its victory. From the very beginning, we have focused our attention on maintaining cordial relations with Islamic revolutionary

Iran, the country which established an Islamic government. Likewise, we have made every effort to ensure that this government remains an all-encompassing and popular Islamic government based on the decrees of the Book of God and the correct traditions of the great prophet.

However, during the years of the war, it was the view of the Muslim Brotherhood that such a war should not have taken place. All throughout those years, in our gatherings, we had urged the Islamic world to take appropriate steps in this regard. Similarly, we had asked Iraq to stop that destructive war, a war which destroyed two countries and caused a lot of bloodshed.

We thanked God, when, with the help of providence, peace and reconciliation replaced the destructive war. Now, a new page has opened and we would like to ask the two countries to renew a more and stronger Islamic relation, since this issue will be considered a significant achievement for Islam and the Muslims, while at the same time it will be deemed as a failure for the Jews, the Americans, and other imperialist countries.

ETTELA'AT's correspondent asked: In your opinion, what is the effect of this revolution and the enlightened thoughts of Imam Khomeyni on the region and the reawakening of the Islamic movement?

In response, the leader of the Muslim Brotherhood stated: The workings of the mind of Hasan al-Bana, that of master Abu-ala-'ali Mowdudi and Imam Khomeyni form the very foundation of guidance for the new generation at the end of the 20th century. This reawakening of Islam is the result of the Islamic cogitations of these reformers, which is also reflected in their writings as well. We hope that the end result will be a unified Islam for all the Muslims, in the format of an Islamic government for each and every Muslim and not a single specific group. It is truly the day like that which will make every faithful believer happy and delighted.

At the end of this interview, Muhammad 'Abd-al-Rahman Khalifah sent the following message to the Muslim nation of Iran: Accept the sincere greetings of your crusading brethren from Palestine and the guardians of the holy shrine of the Dome of the Rock, the first altar and point of ascension of the prophet and the third holy shrine [after Mecca and Medina]. It is with great regret that I should say to my Muslim brothers in Islamic Iran that your mosques and altar, whether the first altar in Jerusalem or the second altar in Mecca or the third one in the holy shrine of Medina, are all being threatened seriously. Let's rise to our feet to attain unity under the banner of Islam. According to the teachings of the prophet, we all have the same God, our prophet is the same, our Scripture is the same, and the direction of our movement to create a divine government on earth is all the same as well. In hope of a divine victory.

PAKISTAN

Economic Downturn, Instability Lamented

91AS0106A Karachi JANG in Urdu 9 Oct 90 p 3

[Article by Agha Masood Hussain entitled, "Economic Conditions and the Nation's Politics"]

[Text] Pakistan's economic condition was already bad when the Gulf crisis began suddenly and dealt a crushing blow to the economies of all developing countries, including Pakistan. The significant progress in the economic sector, which took place during the martial law period and Junejo's term of office, has been wiped out. During the PPP's [Pakistan People's Party] 20-month term of office, the economic sector saw further decline, such that the chart indicating industrial progress shows more than a four-percent decline. The major cause of this situation is the lack of political unity of purpose, which is necessary for economic progress. The political and linguistic disturbances, which have been going on in Sindh over the last six years, have prevented the start of new industries and major investments. At the present time, the country is facing a most deplorable economic situation. Industrial and agricultural activity charts show a consistent downward trend, while the high cost of living is breaking the backs of the people. The rise in the cost of vegetables has created such a bad situation that the people are showing indifference towards political activity. It is a well-known fact that politics is appealing only when there is economic progress and the people feel reassured that their standard of living will rise with the passage of time. But, when the political atmosphere begins to affect economic progress, the people prefer to keep away from politics. This is the situation in Pakistan today.

At the present time, the most important problem facing Pakistan is the need to restore some order to the economic sector and to stimulate the industrial and agricultural sectors in order to produce the desired effects. But, it seems that the planners have no original ideas to put into effect in order to save the country from its serious condition. Undoubtedly, if the planners did have any original ideas, they would have proceeded towards the goal of betterment. All the plans are outdated and outworn policies, which no longer have any life in them and would not encourage or bring about any large-scale investment in the country. As for foreign investment, there will be no possibility of that unless the political situation improves, and there are no signs of any improvement for a long time to come. The reason for this is that the politicians in this country (most of whom are landowners) are not concerned with the condition of the poor people, but with benefitting a small group after gaining office. Who can deny the fact that, in this country, at no time has any serious attention been given to the matter of improving the economic condition of the people? All that is done is to keep the people happy with sloganeering. Once the politicians have obtained the

votes of the people, the people are abandoned to face the same economic hardships which existed before the elections.

Another serious problem facing the country is that taxes are levied mostly on urban dwellers, and agricultural income is not taxed at all, nor is any intention expressed to tax such income. Here, it should also be mentioned that the prominent members of the private sector cheat on their taxes and do not pay the full amount of the taxes that they owe. Only the multinational companies pay their taxes regularly in this country. As a result of the lack of cooperation on the part of the capitalists, the government suffers the loss of billions of rupees in revenues and the social sector pays a heavy price as well. One reason for defective planning in education and health is the government's lack of resources, which are available only domestically. It is indeed tragic that the personal sector talks of profits, but shirks its responsibilities. If this sector paid its taxes honestly, the education and health sectors could be improved to a great extent. Similarly, if even half of the billions of rupees stolen from the customs and excise departments were saved, the government would have sufficient money with which to improve the performance of social agencies. But who will bell the fat cats of the customs and excise agencies? These influential officials have such a long reach that anyone who sets out to punish them gets punished himself. Pakistan needs politicians who are friends and humanitarians in the true sense of the word, who would rise to the country's economic challenge and improve the country's political situation, thus allowing economic experts to establish a relevant economic system. I am convinced that the economic conditions in this country will not improve unless the political system is improved. The exemplary economic progress made by Germany and Japan is the sole result of their political systems, which work in a desirable manner and strengthen economic policies, allowing the countries to progress continuously. The progress made in recent times by the four Asian countries of South Korea, Singapore, Malaysia, and Thailand is attributable to their political systems, which work purposefully. These countries, especially South Korea and Thailand, were even more backward than Pakistan, but today they are being cited as examples of progress. The exemplary progress made by a small country such as Sri Lanka should be an object lesson to us.

Pakistan is probably the only country where the ruling class looks out for its own interests and has no major plans for the country. Selfishness has become part of our character. We rouse others with our "table talk," but undertake no action. Selfishness and dissension have weakened the foundations of the country, and the average man is constantly ground down by this silent oppression. The disturbing and chaotic economic and political conditions in Pakistan are causing the young to flee the country. During my stay in West Germany, I saw many young Pakistanis who had secretly entered the country and were getting by doing odd jobs, but they

were not willing to return to Pakistan. Similarly, in Japan and Australia, a large number of Pakistani youth are working under adverse conditions, but are happy even under such conditions because no one in Pakistan is willing to spread out the welcome mat for them. At least, in these countries they are able to earn a living, whereas in Pakistan there is nothing but disappointment for them. The despair dogging young Pakistanis stems from our political system, which shows no dawn of a new hope, nor is there any individual among us who can introduce the people to a new life. Life is a burden, which the people continue to bear.

As a result of the Gulf crisis, the future will be hard and economically trying for the Pakistani people. Thousands of Pakistanis have lost their jobs in Iraq and Kuwait and have returned to the country, and no one knows how many more will be returning. Low productivity, high expenses, a decrease in foreign exchange, the high cost of living, and unemployment are serious problems which cannot be solved under the present political system, nor is there any political leader capable of solving these problems. We should try to get together and save the country from its present crisis, otherwise we will pay a heavy price for our neglect and indifference. The loss of East Pakistan was solely the result of the tug-of-war among politicians to gain power and, because of this political struggle, Pakistan broke up. The same act is being played now in the political arena, and the people are watching fearfully. In the past, the number of those who caused harm to the country was not more than a hundred. And today as well, there are not more than a hundred such people, but they have shaken up the whole country. How can there be any economic planning under such conditions? There is only one solution, and that is to find out if we have the spirit to forget our differences and do something for the good of the country. If we are willing to undertake the task, then why do we not get together and save the country and the people from this uncertain situation? Pakistan and the nation demand that the politicians and those who are the guardians of the country set social and political affairs straight and stimulate economic activity so that, by removing social backwardness, the people might be provided with the means of livelihood. The present cry of the people is becoming sharper than in the past. If quick attention is paid to it, the country could be saved from more bloodshed and destruction; otherwise, time will speed by and we will be left staring at its dust.

Editorial Reminds New Government of Major Issues

91AS0221A Lahore *VIEWPOINT* in English
1 Nov 90 p 5

[Text] The victors in the disputed October 24-27 polls are at present engaged single-mindedly in the usual scramble for a division of the spoils they have acquired or earned. None of the large number of aspirants to the high offices vacated by the Presidential Order of August 6 has been particularly coy about staking his claim or

getting his loyal aides to do so. Longtime Punjab Chief Minister Nawaz Sharif seems to be leading in the race, and it is recalled that he was chosen for this post by General Ziaul Haq himself. The Mian's strong position is buttressed by his hold on the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] and the country's largest province—sixty percent of Pakistan, as we are constantly reminded. What is more, his supporters believe that his role in taking up the tough fight against the People's Party and engineering its defeat has been decisive and merits such recognition. With Jam Sadiq Ali deputed to keep Sindh in a strait-jacket, the argument about placating Sindh by nominating either Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi or Mohammad Khan Junejo—both weak candidates for lack of genuine backing in their home province—carries less weight. Of course, unsuccessful prime ministerial candidates can always be given consolation prizes such as the designation of Deputy, or preferably Vice, Prime Minister. Similar tussles are being witnessed for the provincial gaddis and the four speakerships, and leaders of the Jamaat have begun to talk of principles to secure for themselves an adequate share of the offices available. Other provinces seem to have been managed, but Sindh remains a hard nut to crack despite all that the Jam Sahib has done and is doing. The situation remains uneasy and inflammable, although the IJI's alliance with the Haq Parast group was expected to douse ethnic fires.

Obviously, the people of Pakistan are not interested at all in which face will now consume prime time on television or how the disparate groups that had got together to get rid of the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] will settle their policy differences and also accept formulae for sharing the benefits that have come their way so unexpectedly. The people are mainly concerned about two matters. First, can the Government prove its legitimacy by disproving the charge of electoral fraud through judicial, or in any case impartial and judicious, determination, and show that in taking over power its hands are reasonably clean? Second, the people are well aware of the multiple crisis that the country faces. Its economy is on the verge of collapse. The Gulf situation has dealt it a number of severe blows—the higher oil price, the stoppage of remittances, and the steady return of migrant labor. The sudden cut-off of American aid also provides cause for concern, and people wonder what price will be paid for its restitution. Will the IJI be able or want to change the policies that have brought Pakistan to ruin during the last twelve years through embroilment in alien wars, blindly following the dictates of the IMF, maintaining a dangerous imbalance of trade, keeping our frontiers open to smuggled goods, and maintaining the socio-economic status quo which hampers all genuine progress? Will it even try to contain or deal with the crises on our borders and the consequential flow of drugs and arms? Before very long, the new Government must make its position and plans known on these and other major national issues, so that the people can judge its legitimacy and estimate its worth.

PPP's Position, Future Viewed

Testing Times

91AS0294A Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
11 Nov 90 pp 4, 7

Article by Mohammad Yasin]

[Text] There are no two opinions on the principle of having an effective opposition to serve as a watchdog of the constitution and fundamental rights of the people. Now that the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] enjoys a brute majority in the National assembly as well as in the Punjab and has an effective presence in collaboration with its allies in NWFP [Northwest Frontier Province] and Sindh, it is all the more necessary that the opposition should be even more effective and stronger than before. Whenever a single party or alliance comes out with a brute majority, it is but natural for it to be stridently brute and steamroll everything coming in its way. It is beside the point to dwell at length on the manner in which the IJI has come through the hustings. Controversy over the alleged riggings should now better be left to the tribunals. It is good on the part of Ms Benazir Bhutto to have accepted the results of the elections though under protest. Provided that she sits in the National Assembly, the greater quantum of responsibility would devolve on her shoulders to acquit herself as an effective and perspective leader of the constitutional opposition. She would have to devise a sound strategy to keep the government enjoying brute majority from committing excesses and trampling underfoot the rights and liberties of the masses. For the growth of democratic traditions, it would surely fall on her shoulders to keep the government on its toes.

But there are certain prerequisites that Ms Benazir Bhutto would have to stick to in order to play the role of a strong leader of the opposition. Most importantly, she would have to put her own house in order. The PPP [Pakistan People's Party], the major partner in the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] is perhaps the most disorganised entity. Admittedly it is the single largest party in the political field. To contest election against it, the PML [Pakistan Muslim League] had to enter into alliance with eight political parties under the nomenclature of the IJI and then to expand it further by cooperating with the ex-COP [Combined Opposition Parties] constituents. The IJI had to adopt one-to-one strategy to fight out with the PDA. That speaks amply for the strength of the PPP and its allies. Despite the tilt that the IJI enjoyed as a result of being at the helm of affairs of the caretaker set up, the PPP and its allies secured 38.46 percent of the popular vote. In the 1988 elections, the PPP had singly secured above 36 percent votes. That should leave no doubt in any one's mind about the overwhelming support commanded by the PPP. The point to note is that the support has remained uneroded despite the allegations of corruption and ineptness against the PPP government.

However, it is an undeniable fact that despite the popular support it commands, the PPP is organisationally the weakest political party. It is fuelled by the charisma of the Bhuttos. But charisma alone cannot propel any party for long. It needs a well-oiled organisational structure to prepare itself for making a run-up to the hustings and emerge as the wielder of power. While the PPP had always made professions of its democratic character, it is actually devoid of democratic moorings in the party structure. It is essential for any political party to be democratic in its organisation. Starting from the lower rungs right up to the highest echelons, a party should follow a democratic pattern and hold party elections. The PPP functions on the process of nominations. For the respite that Ms Benazir Bhutto has got, she must set her top priority on the party reorganisation and go about the business of organising afresh keeping in view the pre-requisites of the 21st Century. Elections must be held periodically to bring to the fore lower-middle class leadership at every tier of the party. The mode of having hand-picked partymen at every tier has bred acrimony and frustration within the party rank and file and aroused bitter infighting among the leadership. Elections within the organisation would lead to emergence of an able leadership.

The PPP is apparently devoid of a think-tank. It does not do its home task on any scientific plane. In the 1988 elections, the PPP had come to the top unprepared for the task it had to perform. An organised political party is always prepared with all its options ready for the solution of the economic and other domestic problems. In the present day world, no party without any organisational set-up can hope to survive if it has not done its home task. For that teams of researchers are required permanently in several fields to keep on preparing briefs on the political, economic, environmental, nuclear, health and educational issues and updating them from time to time. The PPP has no such concept. It relies on sloganeering for its success in the elections and thus win the hearts of the people. Organised parties the world over keep on assessing the public opinion on the national issues and then framing their policies. The PPP has worked more haphazardly than methodically. This was made abundantly manifest during the recent elections. It has lost touch with the masses and failed to assess their mood on issues. Despite it, the masses voted for her party because they had no faith in the credentials of her adversaries. Had the PPP come well prepared to do its job when it came into power after the 1988 elections, it would not have committed the blunders it did.

On the political field, the PPP committed the gravest blunders by turning its one-time allies in the MRD [Movement for the Restoration of Democracy] hostile to itself and thereby it created more enemies as if it did not have enough of them. Wali Khan's recent remark that he was prepared to sit with Satan against the PPP, sheds light on the extent of the hostility created by the PPP by its unpardonable mistakes. Similarly, it antagonised the JUI (F) [Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam (Fazlur Rahman

group)) and its other allies. More than ill-will, these failures of the PPP stem from its organisational weaknesses. There are no consultations within the party on democratic lines. Only an elected leadership within the party can give sound advice to the top leadership. The coterie of handpicked men cannot deliver the goods. They would act more as sycophants and curry favour with the top leadership instead of calling a spade a spade. No political party which does not discuss issues threadbare on the basis of realistic premises, can survive. Collective wisdom garnered as a result of free and enlightened discussion by a political leadership having roots in the masses is the only way out to resolve issues and knotty problems. The fact that the martial law in this country has always led to traumatic experiences and tragedy on the national scale is enough to show that authoritarianism is always detrimental to the collective good. The failure of martial law lies in the fact that it is authoritarian and extols the wisdom of one person or a coterie of persons. Therein lie the seeds of destruction. The charisma of the Bhuttos is undeniable but it must be turned into strength instead of weakness. Without thorough reorganisation on democratic principles, the PPP cannot any longer sustain the charisma. Even mediocre leadership endowed with sound organisational setup and capabilities can deliver the goods. A rabbit can lose a race against a tortoise.

Another major failure of the PPP top leadership is its accessibility to the masses and partymen. It does not maintain direct contacts with the intelligentsia. Ms Benazir Bhutto is surrounded by sycophants and is prisoner of their whims and prejudices. This has done incalculable damage to her in political terms. During her 20-month-government, this factor that secluded her from a wider spectrum of opinion, made her blind to what was happening around her. Consequently her world view became myopic, causing her to commit blunders in domestic and foreign policy spheres. A young woman who had fought bravely against the tyranny and oppression of martial law for about eleven years, was reduced to an inept leader by the people surrounding her.

Time has come for the PPP leadership to review its performance objectively and realistically. The task ahead for the PPP Co-Chairperson as the leader of the opposition in the Parliament and outside is indeed as stupendous as for the new government to handle the grave situation arising out of the economic crisis, the Gulf situation and the Kashmir issue. Even if she is not in Parliament, a big chunk of the population would look towards her to provide leadership. In order to give effective leadership as an opposition leader, it would fall on her to make her own party a lasting outfit. That presupposes reorganisation of the party on modern lines so that it can withstand all storms and stresses and be able to check electoral rigging. It may not be out of place to mention here that even in the matter of registration of new voters and checking of the bogus voters, the PPP was severely lacking. Even its polling agents were not well-trained in their jobs.

Alienation Probed

91AS0294B Islamabad *THE MUSLIM* in English
11 Nov 90 pp 1, 7

[Article by Ghani Eirabie; words in italics and quotation marks as published]

[Text] The electoral post-mortem reveals two things: one, that popular alienation from the People's Party has been more massive than originally estimated; and two, the underlying causes of it should be deeply disturbing to PPP [Pakistan People's Party] leadership.

Our preoccupation with National Assembly polls has obscured the dimensions of the catastrophe hitting the People's Party in the provincial elections. A measure of it is provided not only by its failure to retain the home base in Sindh but also by the collapse of its traditional support in the Punjab. *In sharp contrast to what happened at the national level where it suffered only a marginal erosion of 2 percent in its vote-bank, its losses were more substantial in the provincial elections. Around 10 percent or 1,400,000 voters switched sides in the 72 hours between 24 and 27 October with half of them crossing the partyline to vote for their political opponents, the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance], and the other half swarming over to the independents and the smaller parties, apparently to register their protest. The upshot was that the PPP's tally of provincial assembly seats crashed from 94 in 1988 to 10 in 1990.*

As against this, IJI cutting into the PPP vote-bank, grabbing votes from the "third party" pool and attracting fresh voters, increased its vote in the Punjab Assembly polls to 54 percent, a solid 24 percent above the PPP and won a whopping 200 of the 240 seats and none by default. Statistics belie the presumption that it was a drastic drop in the voter turn-out for provincial polls that accounted for the relatively deserted look of the PPP camp offices. The voter turn-out was roughly the same on 24 and 27 October—ranging between 48 and 46 percent. The new development was that instead of voting for the PPP, a startling 1.4 million changed loyalties.

It is conceivable that the switch was partly triggered by the "bandwagon" effect, that is the temptation to line up with the winning side, which the National Assembly polls showed to be the IJI. But that probably is not the whole truth, for half the "PPP-rebels" cast their vote for the "third party," that is the independents and the smaller groups, knowing full well (from their knowledge of outcome of parliamentary polls) that their ballots would be wasted—leaving little doubt that their vote was intended to be no more than a protest vote. Additionally, experts maintain, even the so-called "bandwagon" phenomenon tends to attract those whose party loyalties are already shaky, according to a paper prepared by Dr Ijaz Gilani for the election study group.

New York state studies of voter behaviour, under the Elmira project, ascribe the unhinging of party loyalty to

what is identified as "cross- pressures," representing a state of mind in which voters begin to find it hard to adhere to their original views. Pollsters discovered the emergence of the phenomenon in People's Party ranks during its 20-month rule as government. A survey carried out on 5 October 1990, found a good quarter of its supporters engaged in "re-thinking." It found its traditional vote-bank sliding from 40 to 30 percent of popular support. However, vigorous campaigning by the political parties managed to achieve two things before the parliamentary elections: the People's Party succeeded in winning back the drifting partymen by arousing their sympathy for the "under-dog;" and the IJI succeeded in consolidating the anti-PPP vote by wooing away voters from third parties" to the IJI fold.

It would, however, appear that the waverers were not exactly convinced. A public opinion survey conducted by the Karachi journal, the NEWSLINE revealed a solid 60 percent of the people holding Asif Zardari to be "corrupt," even while sparing Benazir Bhutto personally. Thus while the pre-election publicity campaign did succeed in winning back a majority of the party "drifters" for the parliamentary polls, it proved to be a temporary gain; and ultimately established the truth of the "Elmira" studies conclusion that political conversion is clinched by concrete, tangible events—in this case, the outcome of the elections to the National Assembly. The PPP failure there resurrected the earlier "cross-pressures" on apparently the same one-quarter of the PPP voters. They finally changed their loyalties on the eve of the provincial assembly elections: in the Punjab, half of the waverers opted for the IJI and the other half switched from the PPP to independents and third parties, even while knowing their votes would be squandered.

The monumental PPP debacle prompts the question: what has brought about such massive PPP alienation from the people. There are a score of reasons, but what should cause the gravest concern to the PPP leadership is IJI's success in raising "doubts about PPP's Islamic and nationalist credentials." Its greatest success lay in establishing an election agenda of its own choosing—with Islamic ethos and Pakistani nationalism as the make-and-break issues of the 1990 election, forcing the people to restrict their assessment to these two points alone. According to an "exit-poll" conducted by Gallup-Pakistan on 24 October, a good 43 percent of those voting for IJI said, they had chosen IJI because of its Islamic credentials and another 20 percent described IJI's Pakistani nationalist and patriotic stance as the principal reason for their choice. Apparently so effective was IJI's negative propaganda that a solid 40 percent of IJI voters said they rejected PPP because they were suspicious of its Islamic and Pakistani credentials. They viewed PPP as weak on Islamic ethos (18 percent) or soft on issues that the people viewed as touchstones of Pakistani patriotism (22 percent).

The PPP's own landslide victory back in 1970 can be ascribed to its initiative in prescribing the agenda: a

thousand year long war against India and confrontation against USA and repudiation of the economic status quo at home. The dual call mobilised both the 'patriot' and the 'poor' behind the People's Party. But now while the patriots mostly are claiming alienated, the poor, though still sticking to the party, are feeling deeply disillusioned.

Logically, there may be nothing wrong with the Pakistan Prime Minister conferring with the Prime Minister of India, but the amount of deference allegedly shown by Benazir Bhutto to Rajiv Gandhi, at the 1989 SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] summit and the Islamabad press conference, and the prior removal of all signboards relating to Kashmir, again out of deference to Indian sentiment, were viewed as nationally humiliating and cited as evidence of her being soft on India. The point here is not the truth but the perception; and the same applies to Benazir's policy towards the United States. There is no evidence to suggest that while in office Benazir yielded to Washington on Pakistan's nuclear programme. But the way the United States, especially the American Congress, has intervened on her behalf—first by insisting, in November 1988, that she must be invited to form the government even though she did not command an absolute majority and then by raising a storm over her dismissal in August 1990 by the President under the Pakistan Constitution—has raised serious misgivings about Benazir's involvement with the United States. Washington's interest in the promotion of democracy in Pakistan is understandable, but its blatant espousal of a particular party or person has been viewed here as treating Pakistan as a client state, breaching the principle of sovereign equality of nations.

What the common people have found even more disconcerting is the fact that spearheading the pro-Bhutto drive is a bunch of Congressional leaders known to be active on behalf of the Indo-Israeli lobby, namely Congressman Stephen Solarz and Senator Alan Cranston and Senator Moynihan. They have distinguished themselves for their fervent dedication to Israel and dogged opposition to Pakistan. Solarz resisted the sale of F-16s to Islamabad and Cranston has been urging aid cutoff on the mere suspicion of Pakistan pursuing nuclear research and diverting the funds thus saved to Israel.

The better informed of the Pakistanis have noted the fact that none of them raised any hue and cry when General Ziaul Haq dismissed Prime Minister Junejo in May 1988. Although the justification offered by Ziaul Haq was rejected by the Pakistan judiciary and that by Ishaq Khan accepted, the U.S. Congressional leaders have persisted in their pro-Benazir partisanship and given it a tangible shape by suspending all economic and military assistance to Pakistan. Solarz clearly linked to the U.S. aid to the fate of Benazir in his 2 October brief to the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee chaired by him when he said: "Make no mistake about it: absent compelling evidence of her guilt, election that precluded the leader of one of the major political parties in Pakistan from running, could not be considered democratic, no

matter how exemplary the actual election day procedures might be." He had to be reminded by university Professor Thomas Thornton that "Bhutto is not above the law" and that "We are committed to a process rather than a candidate."

The Pakistani people were most incensed by reports that Mrs Nusrat Bhutto, with the zealous support of Israeli lobbyist Mark Siegal, hired by Benazir as Prime Minister, actively canvassed U.S. Congressional leaders for interference in Pakistan's internal affairs—provoking a Lahore daily to dub the move as an act of "doubtful propriety" and to conclude: the rumour that Begum Bhutto is instrumental in getting the U.S. aid stopped, if true, amounts to "betrayal." Once again, the point is not whether the charge is true or untrue, but what the popular perception is. There is little doubt that the suspiciously excessive American support for Benazir personally has hurt her politically at this point of time.

While the "top intellectuals" have been alienated by her blatant alignment with Western imperialism, the "bottom poor" are beginning to be disillusioned by the perceived shift in the PPP's original commitment to an economic revolution. The workers see the party merging into the establishment and protecting the status quo. Columnist Maleeha Lodhi in an election-eve article noted a remarkable "similarity in the social background of candidates sponsored by the two major contestants, which shows a preponderance of rural and urban notables. Over half the PPP and IJI candidates for the National Assembly belong to this category—127 and 117 respectively (showing the PPP has even more of them). The traditional landed gentry appears to be pretty evenly divided between the PPP and the Muslim League, but with PPP having a clear edge in Sindh."

The result is, that the People's Party has begun to lose the ideological preference it once enjoyed over the Muslim League in its appeal to the young, the daring and the underprivileged. True, PPP still retains a part of its earlier halo as a party of the poor as brought out in the latest "exit-poll," but the image is eroding.

The greatest paradox, however, is the Bhutto personality. The Bhutto name is the only glue holding the PPP together; without it, the party will fall apart; and yet it is also proving to be PPP's greatest liability. One of the most comprehensive expositions of the PPP's electoral disaster has been offered by the American publication "U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, under the heading "Born to rule, bred to lose." It says: "She spent 20 months in power making enemies while her rivals were busy making political pacts. But voters were even more outraged by the blundering and plundering of Bhutto's rule. She never made the transition from being leader of a crusade to being a governing Prime Minister. Her long crusade to defend and then avenge her father—became a one-woman show as his old comrades progressively peeled off in anger. It imprinted a siege mentality, put a premium on loyalty and reinforced a belief that democracy in Pakistan is synonymous with Bhutto

family rule. It (being a Bhutto) explains why she surrounded herself with courtiers rather than counsellors. Along with a total lack of experience, it accounts for some of the staggering misjudgments that brought her down."

The U.S. NEWS, after pointing out that she "became Prime Minister of the People's Party and not of Pakistan," goes on to analyse the widespread charges of corruption and says: "It is hard to find anybody in Pakistan who is not convinced that her husband, Asif Ali Zardari, a former small-time developer she married three years ago, has not been using the family name to make megabucks. So it is less likely that Bhutto was blind to the transgressions of her family and Ministers than that she considered payoffs and influence peddling by allies both a political necessity and a normal perquisite of office. So the masterminding of 'operation greasy palm' fell to her husband, a skilled deal-maker who already had an office in the Prime Minister's secretariat."

The international magazine concludes its assessment of Benazir with an account of her propensity for losing friends, saying: "But it was Bhutto who was most often on the offensive, launching attacks on multiple fronts and pushing her enemies to make common cause against her. She not only picked too many fights she picked the wrong ones. And it backs up the verdict with specific instances of "an unerring sense of misjudgment and bad timing," on part of Benazir Bhutto."

To conclude: it is her personal arrogance and preoccupation with partisan rather than national interest and conversion of the PPP into a status quo party, together with the popular perception that she was soft on India and *hard on Islam* and that she was promoting corruption and inviting American interference just to perpetuate herself in office, that have combined to alienate the great mass of common people from the People's Party and hand down a landslide victory to her political adversaries.

'Uncertain' Future Considered

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[Article by Syed Alamdar Raza. Words in italics as published.]

[Text] Ever since the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] has been removed from power, they have spared nobody in the country—neither the persons who enjoy very high reputation nor the most prestigious institutions. Their reply to all the serious charges of massive corruption and mismanagement was that they would accept only the verdict of the people and nobody else's adjudication or decision. The verdict of the people has come but they are not accepting it for the reason that the elections were, they allege, rigged. Apart from the fact whether PPP has a moral right to raise such an objection because they

broke all the previous records of rigging in the 1977 elections held by them, there is no visible evidence of rigging, exceptions apart.

Moreover, there is no exhibition of large scale dissatisfaction against the election results also. The storm raised on the *Qisas and Diyat* Ordinance has also subsided without bringing the people on the streets. All that is left for the PPP now is to accept the results of the elections while the semantics over their charges of ratios and proportions of the election results are being debated. The question that still remains unreplied is—what happens if they sit in the Opposition and do nothing else. Firstly “do nothing else” theory is not applicable to them because they are so made they would do everything else except accepting the election results in good grace. Even if, for the sake of argument, it is believed that they will do nothing else, the more serious issue still remains—what about the logical consequences of the various acts of omission and commission committed by them during the twenty months of their rule? Will they wither on the vine under the heat of institutional framework invoked against them or will they develop a new strategy and a new political philosophy and inspire the rank and file of the party with fresh missionary zeal to galvanise the people to a new orientation for a better future. What seems to be happening at present is that the party is not doing very much more than blaming all the major institutions of the country for their electoral failure and the party cadres are demoralised and disheartened. The best of their efforts seem to be directed in the courtroom towards securing some favourable verdict which may provide them with new pros. This has been eluding them. In the meantime, Mian Nawaz Sharif has given an offer that is he not intending to continue Special Tribunals with the proviso that the existing proceedings may continue. Would they see a ray of hope in it?

The problems facing the party are really serious. The federalist stance which they have been taking so far is not likely to work any more in their power base of rural Sindh. In fact, it has already been hijacked by Mian Nawaz Sharif. Ms Benazir Bhutto (BB) has now started talking in terms of great dissatisfaction prevailing in Sindh. She is apparently referring to the phenomenon of deculturation which the extremist elements claim, is taking place on a large scale. The demands on BB are that she should come out more openly and vehemently against this onslaught on Sindhi culture—a demand which she has been resisting as her eyes are set on Punjab where she has to rebuild a power base. It seems that she has not been able to work out a balance between the demands of federalist Punjab and myopic rural Sindh. A slight readjustment that is discernible in her position in that while talking of rural Sindh's serious grievance, she is bracketing it with Balochistan's deprivation also. NWFP [Northwest Frontier Province] has not been joined yet but it may be later on. This seems to be designed to dispel an impression that her approach is ethnic—a charge which she has been bringing against the MQM [Mohajir Qaumi Movement] repeatedly.

During her twenty months of rule she has conducted herself in a manner that all her options are exhausted. Her area of activity has been reduced to rural Sindh and there, too, it is confined to die-hards. It is no longer possible to take political initiatives in the major towns of Sindh because MQM holds complete sway over there and the wounds inflicted on them are so deep and fresh that they have very little manoeuvrability in the matter. In any case, it does not suit them at present when they are sharing power in good proportion with the ruling combinations. Even in the small and medium size towns the education level is fairly high and the puritan approach is not working. The interdependence of Sindhis with the Mohajirs is a well established fact of life which has withstood the holocaust of sectarian strife. This is amplified in the success obtained by MQM and MQM-backed candidates during the last election—a bag of nine for the National Assembly excluding the towns of Hyderabad and Karachi!

The residue available with BB is therefore, confined to Sindh only and there also the solitary option is to talk of the grievances of Sindhis. In this approach she is not unchallenged. Her going may be very difficult. Moreover, the benefits of the Sindh card which she has played have remained confined to upper and upper middle class Sindhis. They have not filtered down to the grassroots where the level of education and political consciousness is on the ascendant. The main demands of downtrodden, educated and politically motivated Sindhis are for major economic and social reforms and PPP does not hold much of a promise in this respect. In the meantime, the MQM is trying to run down the formidable walls of ethnic divide strengthened during the last twenty months. This is a Herculean task but they carry one message which is very popular—that they stand for the lower and lower middle class people. This is spreading like wildfire. MQM is still a long way off from benefitting from this situation but this is likely to damage PPP immensely. The only person who can cash in on it is the maestro—Mr Jam Sadiq Ali, the Chief Minister of Sindh, who is quite capable of turning the existing sentiment in his favour as well as creating and setting up new political forces which have the potential to exploit it. The currents and cross-currents of the Sindh situation are at present very intricate and highly treacherous and nobody seems to hold the key to control them. In any case, BB still enjoys a predominant position but the field is certainly not wide open and her sway is no longer capable of washing down everything.

The Sindh situation and the problems it has created for BB have put her in an extremely unenviable and, in fact, a vulnerable position in Punjab. Having been tied down to a narrow and discernibly parochial role in Sindh, it will be highly paradoxical for her to take a federalist stance in Punjab. She may be accused of insincerity if not of outright duplicity. Look at the immensity of her problem. In Sindh she may have to talk of a Punjabi as an exploiter whereas in Punjab she will have to call him a patriot and sheet anchor of Pakistan. Having raised the

slogan of Sindh for Sindhis, it may turn her embarrassingly red if she talks of Punjab being everybody's home and a Punjabi as an elder brother to others. In fact, in her political dealings, BB has reached a point where political rhetoric loses its credibility and solid achievements and political convictions alone steer the way to success. Having fumbled in her socialistic approach, she has really not much to show and intellectual gymnastics are not likely to fill up the gap created by lack of performance.

The PPP had passed through two stages to reach the government—the first was the stage of idealism when Mr Bhutto raised catchy slogans of economic and social equality and having no track record of any type of performance except the public image of defiance of the Tashkent Agreement, he was widely believed and succeeded in taking over the government with public support. The second stage came when BB returned to power having spent a long time in confinement and exile and rode to power on the crest of popular support based on the sympathy factor. The 1990 elections were the first time when PPP was judged on the basis of their performance and the result was that they were swept away from power, both at the Centre as well as in all the provinces. All they are left with now is the long list of accusations and the prolific oratory of BB. With these they are not likely to make much headway. In fact, their performance has been so poor all along that the first tenure of their government was the cause of Mr Z.A. Bhutto losing his head and the second tenure led to their government being dissolved and the party failing to get re-elected. In both the cases the people remained passive spectators and did not show much enthusiasm for Bhutto, not even for face saving.

The PPP is now faced with the real crisis of leadership. Their main characters are facing serious charges of corruption and mismanagement and their only reply to

the charges is that others are also corrupt. This is not likely to be acceptable at any forum and it does not restore their lost image or reputation with the public. They are out of power through the polls and they have not developed enough courage to accept this reality. They have no credible programme for the future which could fire the public imagination with a new vision for a better future. In fact, they do not know who amongst them will survive the onslaught of judicial scrutiny. What seems to be keeping them afloat is, strangely enough, President Mr Ghulam Ishaq Khan's political Parties (Amendment) Ordinance, 1990, which bans unrestricted crossing over to the other political parties/groups. In the absence of this Ordinance, many of their members would have crossed over to the ruling parties. Even on this account, PPP is not out of its trauma yet. If Mian Nawaz Sharif, the new Prime Minister does not get the Ordinance converted into an Act within four months, the Ordinance goes and with it, probably, will go many of the elected members of the PPP to the ruling parties.

The solution to the problem may lie in transferring the leadership of the party to those who have managed to sustain their integrity and character while remaining loyal to the party. This will open vistas of a new opportunity for the party and the party may be able to extricate itself from its past and start looking towards the future. After all, leftist programmes have tremendous attractions despite failure of the Russian experience and if PPP can throw up a leadership which holds the promise to implement them and also have credibility, the party is capable of regaining the momentum and popularity of Seventies. But the hundred million dollar question is—will the Bhutto ladies allow it? They have parted with nothing willingly and this change-over may also be no exception. In the meantime, the party should learn to live under the shadow of its past with Mr Z.A. Bhutto's ghost haunting it invisibly and the Bhutto ladies obstructing its natural course visibly.

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